

Holmes A. Sumner

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS.

BY

✓
HOLMES AMMIDOWN,
MERCHANT.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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PREFACE.

IN presenting these “Historical Collections” to the public, the author is well aware of the many imperfections existing in them, some of which are errors of date and spelling of proper names, which occurred through the negligence of the printer in not properly correcting the proof-sheets as marked by the writer. Such errors have been noted in the errata. As regards grammatical accuracy and nicely formed sentences, the writer claims nothing, but believes that facts presented are generally correctly stated.

The work, no doubt, by some will be regarded as diffuse, more so than the subject-matters required, but in that respect it has been the design, by such illustrations, to explain in many instances the origin of that which now exists, and in other respects to introduce contemporaneous events, explanatory of results which followed.

The gathering of the scraps of history here presented, has been the result of the employment of leisure time not required for service in a mercantile life of active labor through a period of more than forty years, and nearly all arranged in chronological order, and written out after the writer had passed the bounds of threescore years and ten.

If these Collections shall be the means of preserving from oblivion any considerable amount of the facts therein contained, so as to enable others to use them better, and more interestingly, at some future period, the writer will have satisfied the extent of his aspirations.

He is under many obligations to parties who have kindly granted aid in this behalf, and for other historical matters now in manuscript, of a more general character, which are designed for a third volume of equal extent, and which may or may not appear in print hereafter.

It may further be observed, that the bringing forth of these volumes, and the labor and expenditure in aid of establishing the Public Library, Reading-room and Museum in his native town of Southbridge, for the benefit of the inhabitants of that vicinity, are the result of a design contemplated many years since.

However these pages may be regarded by the public, they go forth as a work that has caused much labor and diligent research, and whatever may be their worth or value, they are to his native place and vicinity respectfully inscribed, by

THE AUTHOR.

New York, July 4, 1874.

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E R R A T A .

VOLUME I.

- Page 69, last line and last word, for *offices*, read *officers*.
“ 136, 3d line, for 1596, read 1696.
“ 145, 16th line, for *a* massacre, read *the* massacre.
“ 171, 7th line from bottom Note, for died 1728, read 1758.
“ “ 6th line, for 1758, read 1728.
“ 221, 13th line, for *seventeenth* century, read *eighteenth*.
“ 280, 3d line, for *Bramford*, read *Branford*.
“ “ 26th line, for Benjamin *Lubin*, read Benjamin *Sabin*.
“ 291, 26th line, for *future* homes, omit *future*, and read *their home*.
“ 305, 6th line, for *their*, read for *the*.
“ 314, 13th line, for *M. E. Bowen*, read *H. E. Bowen*.
“ 403, 12th line, for *Rensalier*, read *Rensselaer*.
“ 507, 7th line, for *Ballow*, read *Ballard*.
“ 512, 29th line, for Mr. *Leonard*, read Mr. *Burbank*.
“ 530, 10th line, for 21 years, read 71 years.

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS.



REFORMATION IN FRANCE.

SECTION I.



CHAPTER I.

IN proceeding with this work, the grant for the town of Oxford being the first among the several towns included in these historical sketches, its history will be the first to be given.

It is well known that the first attempt made for settling this grant was by a small colony of thirty families of French Protestants, commonly called "Huguenots," who fled their native country through persecution for adherence to their religious faith.

To excite a deeper interest in this people, and especially this small band who entered a wilderness country in a foreign land to find homes where they might live in peace, enjoy the rights of conscience, and to worship God according to its dictates, some account of the causes and sufferings of the Huguenots, that drove them to seek this refuge, will be given.

The writer is aware that a noted and able historian,* as well as others of less notoriety, have written sketches of these

* See Dr. Abial Holmes' *Memoirs of French Protestants at Oxford*; 3d series *Mass. Hist. Collections*, vol. II, p. 20-26.

exiles and of their religious persecutions, yet it is deemed best, in a limited degree, to give some account of those troubles in connection with these collections.

To enter generally into this question would involve a history of the Reformation in France, which would require more space and greater research than the limits of this work will permit ; but such is not the design. The Huguenots, like the Pilgrims and Puritans, were driven by the hand of oppression from their native land.

A large portion of the pioneer settlers who founded the English colonies in America, which subsequently united and formed the United States, were friends of the great religious reform in Europe that ultimately divided the Romish church and established Protestantism.

The circumstances, however, which had brought them to this newly-discovered land, differed according to the religious affairs of the country from which they came. The English Pilgrims and Puritans, the Scotch Presbyterians, and the French Huguenots, held substantially the same doctrines of religious faith. While the three first classes were persecuted for a non-conformity to a nominally Protestant church, the latter were persecuted for their refusing the ceremonies of the Papal hierarchy.

The early steps that led the way to the great religious reform in church matters, it is not the design here to treat of—that runs anterior to a remote period ;—but to glance at some of the occurrences, subsequent to the era when the Reformation became an established fact.

At this culminating point the religious and political affairs of Europe, to a great extent, were under the control of three reigning princes: first, Henry VIII, of England, whose position had been much strengthened by the judicious acts of his father, Henry VII, who came to the throne by removing, by his marriage, the discordant elements in the aspirations of

the two Houses of York and Lancaster*—securing the succession in the line of his family. Henry VIII was crowned April 22, 1509, at the age of eighteen, and continued his reign thirty-eight years. By his marriage with Catherine of Aragon, widow of his deceased brother, Arthur, his political interests led him to favor the Romish church against the efforts then being urged to correct many of the abuses practiced by the priesthood of that great religious body. These efforts were designed to sustain a sound moral and religious sentiment, and not to effect a division in the church, as was the result.

Henry VIII strongly manifested his opposition to the Reform party by his writings against the Reformer, Luther, of Germany, for which the Pope, Leo X, in 1521, honored him with the title of “Defender of the Faith,” which title has since been continued to the crowned heads of England.

Afterwards, having a desire to be divorced from Catherine, to enable him to contract a marriage with Anne Boleyn, and being refused permission by the Pope, he appealed to his parliament, which body, after some delay, in 1532, passed the act known as the “Anglican Schism,” withdrawing the obedience of the King and people of England from the control of the See of Rome. The marriage was then consummated, January 25, 1533, and their excommunication by Pope Paul, in 1535, followed; but, in defiance of this mandate of the Holy See of Rome, Henry VIII assumed the title of the head of the English church, placing himself and his people independent of the Pope in both spiritual and political affairs.

The second was Francis I, of France, son of Charles, Count of Angouleme, and cousin of Louis XII, King of France, whose daughter, Claude, he married in 1514; and, as the nearest heir to the throne of that kingdom, he succeeded to the crown on the death of Louis, January 1, 1515. He

* Henry VII descended from the House of Lancaster, and married Elizabeth, of the House of York, daughter of Edward VI.

adhered rigorously to the cause of the Romish church, and reigned thirty-two years.

The third was Charles V, Emperor of Germany, and King of Spain, under the title of Charles I. He was son of Philip of Burgundy, Archduke of Austria, and Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. His father was son of the Emperor Maximilian, and Mary, daughter of Charles the Bold and Isabella of Bourbon. By the death of his father, Philip, in 1506, he became heir to the possessions of the House of Hapsburg in Germany, and the Dukedom of Burgundy (afterwards the Netherlands) in the right of his grandmother, Mary. By the death of Ferdinand of Spain, in 1516, he inherited that kingdom as Charles I; also Naples and all the extensive dominion of Spain in America. He was the most powerful monarch at this time on the globe. He reigned as emperor thirty-six years.

When these three crowned heads came to their thrones the cause of reform was already a formidable power in Christendom; many princes and nobles and other great minds among both the laity and priesthood had become pledged to its support. All parties rightly informed of the cause of this opposition to the existing condition of the church, and not influenced by selfish motives of either political or religious interests, favored the cause.

The Emperor of Germany, much of the time in the early part of his reign, was extensively engaged in military affairs in conducting war against the King of France, and was disposed to temporize rather than examine into the interest of his people in their religious matters, hoping to keep peace among his subjects by some conciliatory measures, whereby they all would continue under the church. In this decision he was doubtless actuated by the influence of the priesthood and the Pope.

The empire, at this period, had become greatly agitated by

factionous partizans, and in many instances for selfish objects; but Luther and his friends of reform were not of this class; they equally opposed these infractions of order and law, as those of the corruptions of the church and the profligacy of the mendicant friars.

They were consistent and ardent in their efforts to purify society, and to elevate the masses of the people to an intelligent understanding of religion.

In this state of society the emperor permitted the assembling of the diet at Spires in 1526, over which his brother, Ferdinand, presided.

The object was to discuss measures for the relief of the disturbed condition of civil and religious affairs in the empire.

It was the emperor's design to suppress all further disputes upon religious matters, and to insist upon executing the decrees of the diet of Worms, held in 1521. These were the rigid enforcement of the observance of the polity and dogmas of the Romish church, and a declaration against the heresy of Luther, who, by permission of the emperor, appeared at that diet and openly maintained the principles of reform, and vindicated himself and friends against the stigma of being seditious, or disturbers of the peace of society.

The greater portion of the German princes in this assembly opposed the enforcement of the decisions of the diet at Worms, and declared it impossible to do so under the present excitement of the people upon these religious questions. Neither could they come to any decision with respect to settling points of religious faith, alleging that such decision involved questions that should be examined and decided upon by a general council, lawfully assembled, whose duty it was to deal with this subject.

After much debate it was agreed by a large majority of this body—

“To petition the emperor to assemble, without delay, a free and

general council to act upon these questions; and it was further agreed that in the mean time the princes of the empire should, in their respective dominions, be at liberty to manage ecclesiastical matters in such manner as they might deem best, yet so as to be able to give to God and the emperor an account of their administration when demanded of them."

Nothing could be more rational or satisfactory to all such as had the cause of pure Christianity at heart than this decision. It was a favorable step for the encouragement of the principles of reform; for the emperor's time was so much engrossed with war against Francis I, and in his affairs in Italy and Spain, that for several years he had no time to attend to these religious matters in Germany. This liberal decision of the diet at Spires was greatly improved by those opposed to the severe measures of the Papal church, and the cause of reform became greatly strengthened.

This state of religious affairs greatly alarmed the Pope and Papal priesthood, and, as a matter of interest to their cause, they exerted their influence to induce the emperor to call another diet at Spires. He being then more at leisure, caused the assembling of the diet in 1529, when the tolerant and wise resolutions enacted at the former diet of 1526 were revoked by a majority of the members present, greatly to the dissatisfaction of a large number of the most able princes of the empire, who, on the 19th of April, after finding all their arguments unavailing to change this decree, entered a solemn protest against the same, and appealed to the emperor and to a future council.

This decree, following that of 1526, made it imperative, that instead of every prince managing ecclesiastical matters as he thought proper, until a meeting of the general council, every change was declared unlawful that should be introduced into the doctrine, discipline, or worship of the Romish religion, until a future council should decide otherwise. The effect of this was to prevent any change in eccle-

siastical matters ; as it was the design of the established church and those opposed to reform not to call a council to act on this matter.

The princes of the empire who joined in this protest were John, Duke of Saxony ; George, Elector of Brandenburg ; Ernest, of Franconia ; Francis, Duke of Lunenburg ; and Philip, Landgrave of Hesse ; with a number of others of less note. The emperor was at once advised by these Protestants of their doings, by special commissioners, which caused much excitement and irritation with him, finding that his desires for a suppression of "heresy," as then termed, and a union of all parties in the established church, was boldly opposed.

Their position, in opposing the plans of the emperor, was fully realized by these "*Protestants*," which name they now received in common with all who dissented from, and desired reform in the Romish church. A bold course, and union among all who desired reform, was now deemed indispensable ; thus the origin of the treaty or league of Smalcald, entered into by these princes and their friends in 1530, which has been noted for its firmness in sustaining principles against arbitrary power.

Many disturbing elements now arose with the friends of reform in doctrinal points and church discipline, which made it difficult for them to place their sentiments clearly before the public, or to act in concert and with power. Furthermore, it became necessary in their justification before the emperor, in opposing his will, to show the ground of their opposition to him, and their claims for a reform in the Romish church.

To do this, Luther, the leader of reform in Germany, was requested by the Elector of Saxony to reduce to writing the chief principles of the Reformed religion, and the objection to the doctrine and polity of the established church. This, Luther, and several others, eminent ministers engaged in the cause, performed, in seventeen articles, in the same year ; but

it was soon after thought best to amplify them, which was done by Melancthon, preserving the principles as set forth by Luther, but framing them in language of greater elegance and clearness, conferring much honor upon that able writer. These principles were extended to twenty-eight articles, and have since been known as the "Augsburg Confessions."

These confessions were made public by being read at the diet of Augsburg, held, June 20, 1530, at which time the subject of religion was permitted to be discussed by the party of reform in the emperor's presence.

These confessions were read by the Chancellor of Saxony. The clear exposition of the Protestant faith, as set forth in these articles, as well as their objections to the forms and proceedings of the Romish church, were heard by the princes with great interest. They confirmed the opinions of those who had before examined into the new faith, and changed the minds of others in their favor by the reasonableness of the principles and soundness of the arguments.

Of the twenty-eight chapters which contain the Augsburg Confessions, twenty-one include the exposition of the principles of the Protestants, and seven the details of the errors of the Romish church.

Although a committee, sanctioned by the Pope, drew up articles of refutation of these principles, which, by their influence, were supported by the emperor, they did not have the effect to change the honest and intelligent minds of the unprejudiced.

During this period of excitement in religious affairs in Germany, the general principles acknowledged and accepted by its friends there, were taking root and advancing generally throughout the countries of Europe, and in none was there a more deep and earnest feeling in their favor than in France.

Here Lefevre and Farel were ardently engaged in this cause, before the voice of Luther was heard in Germany.

The difference in the two countries at this time was, that the head of the government of France was more constantly with his subjects and ready to support the efforts of the Romish priesthood in suppressing any encroachments upon their hold on the superstitious minds of the people.

The light of truth as proclaimed by the Scriptures could no longer be shut out, with the unceasing efforts of those who had learned and compared them with the superstitious errors advanced by the friars and priests connected with Papacy.

At this eventful period the celebrated John Calvin* entered this field of labor.

It was through the efforts of this celebrated man that the Reformation received its shape and form in France. The simple word of the Scriptures, illustrated by the powerful efforts of Calvin, with the *expose* of the base conduct of the Romish priesthood, advanced greatly the numbers who joined in the cause of reform. He was exposed to great peril by the force of legal enactments, which provided severe penalties for all who should be found teaching the Reformed religion.

Many ministers of the Reformed church, convicted of preaching this faith, perished at this time by the flames. Calvin, the aged and venerable Lefevre, and Farel, fled their country, and, for a time, received protection from Margaret, Queen of Navarre, and Renee, Duchess of Ferrara; the latter, daughter of Louis XII; and the first, sister of Francis I, of France.

But such minds as John Calvin's, and his earnest efforts in this cause, could not be pent up or controlled by penal enactments, or circumscribed by the territorial limits of France; he

* John Calvin was born at Noyon in Picardy, near Paris, July 10, 1509. He was designed for the law; but, obtaining a copy of the Scriptures, his mind was greatly impressed with their truth and reasonableness, compared with the superstitious forms and observances of the Romish church. The simplicity of the Revealed Word convinced his judgment, and at the age of twenty he was ripened in mind and determination to enter the field as a Reformer; this was at the crisis in Germany, the protest at the diet at Spire, in 1529, and of the promulgation of the Confessions of Augsburg, which soon followed. His theology, which immortalized his name, was written at the age of twenty-five.

soon found safety in Geneva, where he united his labors with the great Reformers of Germany and Switzerland.

The underlying principle of the Reformation, at this time, was but imperfectly understood; it was not a religious form or dogma, but freedom of thought. This era was ushered in by the great discovery of the art of printing, the better use of the magnetic needle; in fact, the general advance of knowledge among men. The Papal church flourished best in an ignorant and superstitious age. It had rendered much good service in the middle ages in the preservation of learning, and its acts of philanthropy, but had, in many respects, accomplished its destiny, and was now to give place to a new development of ideas.

The human mind, with the new light it had received, could no longer be pent up by religious dogmas or ancient traditions; religion henceforth was to touch the heart, be weighed by the conscience, and governed by the spirit of truth and benevolence.

Those powers which undertook to stand in the way of its progress mistook their best interests and the revelations of the time. Its advance might, for a time, be retarded, but it could not be stayed; there was a divinity in its nature that no human force could control.

The self-sacrificing labors of those remarkable men, called "The Reformers," extending through the long period from the days of Wycliffe, Huss, and Jerome of Prague, to Luther, Zuinglius, Melancthon, John Knox, John Calvin, and the learned Theodore de Beza, accomplished far more than was originally designed.*

* John de Wycliffe, an English Reformer, sometimes called the "Father of the Reformation," was born in 1324, and died, December 31, 1384, aged sixty.

John Huss, of Bohemia, a disciple of Wycliffe, was born, July 6, 1373, and burned at the stake in Bohemia, July 6, 1415, aged forty-two.

Jerome of Prague (in Bohemia), was born in 1378, and burned as a heretic at Constance, May 30, 1416, aged thirty-eight.

It was not a separation from the Romish church that they contemplated at first, but to correct abuses (the sale of indulgences by mendicant friars was probably the first evil objected to), to reform (thus they received the name of Reformers), to introduce a pure religious faith to a cultivated intellect; clearing away the errors, superstitions, and corruptions introduced into the Romish church by a profligate and licentious priesthood. The laity were to be taught the Scriptures, that they might have the proper means of thought to form an intelligent faith, based upon their teachings. These pure-minded men did not believe in the absurdity of the declared infallibility of the Pope, or that the declarations of the priesthood were to be received as truths, without a comparison and test of their value with the teachings of Scripture, and found to be there substantiated.*

Martin Luther, the leader of reform in Germany, born in Prussian Saxony, November 10, 1483, and died there, February 18, 1546, aged sixty-three.

Ulric Zuinglius, of Switzerland, a patriot and Reformer, born, January 1, 1484; killed in the battle of Cappel, October 12, 1531, aged forty-seven.

Philip Melancthon, a learned scholar and graceful orator, of Germany, born in the Lower Palatinate, now Baden, February 16, 1497; died at Wittenberg, April 19, 1560, aged sixty-three.

John Knox, of Scotland, bold and zealous, born in 1505, and died in Edinburgh, November 24, 1572, aged sixty-seven.

John Calvin, the great leader of reform in France, born in Noyon, Picardy, near Paris, July 10, 1509; died in Geneva, May 27, 1564, aged fifty-five.

Theodore de Beza, a French Reformer, born, June 24, 1519; an eminent scholar, and possessed of much wealth and family standing; died at Geneva, October 13, 1605, aged eighty-six.

* The exercise of the right of private judgment, or the right of the people to read the Bible, was, by the Romish church, peremptorily denied.

ORIGIN OF THE SALE OF INDULGENCES.

It is said that the teachings of the Romish church were, that only a certain degree of goodness was required to merit salvation, and that all the excess of goodness by saints, together with the infinite merits of the Saviour, were controlled by St. Peter and his successors, the Popes, who could at pleasure draw from the accumulated treasure of superabundant goodness, and dispense it to such as were deficient, by being paid in money, according to the necessities of the delinquent.

Hence the origin of the sale of indulgences, which, it is stated, began in the eleventh century.

Pope Leo X, in 1517, granted the right of sale of indulgences in Germany, with a share of the profits, to the Archbishop of Magdeburg, for his agency. This sale having been conducted with such indiscretion, and so extensively, it created great alarm in the minds

It was the design to relieve the minds of the masses from ignorance and the bondage of superstition and deception, which it was the interest of crafty parties to continue, that they might live in luxury upon their scanty earnings. Such was the work that engaged the attention of the Reformers.

The change of Henry VIII from a Romanist to the support of Protestantism was, no doubt, for selfish purposes ; but, however this may have been, it was an act of wisdom, as the tendency of the people of England was against Popery, and to relieve themselves from all improper restraint in both political and religious affairs ; these ideas came naturally by their Saxon descent. The love of liberty has nowhere been more tenacious than that exhibited by the people residing in the low countries in Europe bordering upon the North sea.

Tacitus refers particularly to this trait in the ancient Frisians, Cimbrians, and Chaucians, and of the frequent wars had with them by the Romans, but which could never subdue or deprive them of their liberty, which they so greatly prized.

These people occupied the greater part of what is now known as the Netherlands, and for a long time in possession of the Burgundians.*

The course adopted by Charles V, the Emperor of Germany, following the diet at Augsburg, indicated a lack of wisdom to perceive the tendency of the age.

Half of his German subjects, the better portion of them, opposed the course of the Romish church, and were at this time a united body in favor of reform principles, which had

of all who had regard for the cause of morals and religion. Besides, the great drain of money from the country excited alarm.

Among the most ardent opposers of this corrupting traffic was Martin Luther, showing the artifices of those who sold, and the simplicity of those who bought, which not only tended to correct the evil, but to shake the foundation of the Papal See. The Pope attempted to persuade Luther to desist—he then being a monk of the Augustine order—but to no purpose. His memorable articles of condemnation, ninety-five in number, were posted on the door of the Cathedral of Wittenberg, October 31, 1517. He was for this, and his preaching against this corrupting influence, condemned by the Pope, June 20, 1520, as a heretic.

* See Tacitus, London ed., 1770, note iv, Treatise of Germany, pp. 54-57.

been adopted by the Protestants in all the countries of Europe as the foundation of the Reformation.

The emperor's ideas on this great question were far better adapted to the minds of his bigoted subjects of the peninsula of Spain. The policy he then adopted was continued by his narrow-minded son (after his abdication) with the people of the Netherlands, which resulted in their revolt, and subsequent independence of his rule. This unwise and intolerant course here commenced may be taken as the commencement of the downward course of the empire of Spain, and which has changed that monarchy from one of the most powerful governments to one of weakness and general disrespect.

With Francis I, of France, at the time of the promulgation of the Augsburg Confessions, his position was somewhat different; a large majority of his subjects were submissive to the mandates of Popery; the powerful efforts of Calvin did not then exist; his was then an ascendant luminary just making its appearance above the base of the moral horizon.

This king of France was not ignorant of the principles of the reform, or of the tendency of the age; and, no doubt, had he acted in accordance with his own unbiased judgment, he would have favored the purifying of the Papal church. If these reforms had at first been submitted to by the Romish church with the design of sustaining purity of worship, and the promotion of sound moral and Christian principles, no doubt, it would to this day have remained undivided, but conformed to the light of truth and reason, in its advanced stages.

It is proper here to mention two celebrated ladies noted for their intelligence and purity of purpose, before referred to, who rose above the ordinary selfish motives adopted by royalty, as it was actuated at this period. They were Margaret of Valois,* Queen of Navarre, and sister of Francis I, of

* Margaret of Valois was the daughter of Charles of Orleans, Duke of Angouleme, and

France ; and Renee de France, Duchess of Ferrara, daughter of Louis XII, and Anne of Brittany, and youngest sister of Claude, the wife of Francis I.

The former had much influence over Francis I, her brother, and had at one time prevailed on him to listen to the preaching of a Protestant minister, and finally engaged him to hear the eloquent and noted Reformer, Melancthon, discuss the Reform doctrines. Melancthon was sent for, and the time appointed for hearing his views of reform, which step caused great alarm with the Papists, but gave great encouragement to the Protestants, as favoring their cause ; but, through the influence of the Cardinal de Tournon (Francis, Archbishop of Lyons), then the king's spiritual adviser, he was

Louisa of Savoy. She was born at Angouleme in 1492. In 1509, at the age of seventeen, she married Charles, the last Duke of Alencon, who died at Lyons after the battle of Pavia, in 1525. She visited Madrid, in Spain, to attend Francis I, then sick, and a prisoner of Charles V, he having been taken in the noted battle of Pavia, which was fought, February 24, 1525. It was through the influence of his sister Margaret, then a widow, that the emperor and his ministers treated her brother according to his royal rank, and finally restored him to his kingdom.

His love and high regard for his sister led him to promote her marriage with Henry de Albret, King of Navarre, which took place in January, 1527 ; by this marriage she became the mother of the noted Jane de Albret, who became Queen of Navarre, and mother of Prince Henry, of Navarre, whose father was Anthony of Bourbon, and on the death of Henry III, of France, and last of the House of Valois, by his marriage with Margaret of France, he, by right became the lawful heir to the throne of France, in 1589, as Henry IV, and the first of the House of Bourbon, in that kingdom. Margaret of Valois died in 1549. Was the author of the "Heptameron."

Renee, Duchess of Ferrara, was born at Blois, in 1510 ; she was married in 1527, at the age of seventeen, to Hercules II, of Este, Duke of Ferrara. Her knowledge and interest in the religious controversies of that time were great, and she joined in support of reform in the Papal church, and favored the friends of the Reformation.

Calvin visited her in disguise, and he and his principles were favorably received. Her court became the asylum of those who were suspected of heresy. This was greatly displeasing to Henry II, of France, and he wrote to the Duke of Ferrara : " If the duchess persists in her course she must be separated from all conversation ; her children must be taken from her ; and all her domestics who are suspected of heresy must be prosecuted. With regard to the princess herself, the king refers to the prudence of her husband."

Her four children were taken from her and brought to France to be educated in the Roman Catholic faith. After the death of her husband in 1559, she returned to her castle at Montargis in France, and when the Duke of Guise summoned her to give up some Protestants who had sought her protection, she replied : " That she would not deliver them, and should he attack her castle she would be the first to place herself in the breach to see if he would dare to kill a king's daughter." She was obliged to send away a large number of these Protestants to preserve peace, but paid the expense of their journey to places of safety. She died in Montargis in 1575, aged sixty-five.

prevailed upon to decline hearing this discussion of reform principles by Melancthon, and to make the promise never to desert the Romish faith.

This sudden change of the king was regarded as a severe blow to the principles of reform in France. It gave evidence that under the reign of this king there was to be no tolerance of the Reformed faith.

An edict against propagating the Reformed religion in his kingdom was sanctioned by Francis I, as early as 1523, when several congregations of this faith were dispersed, and many leaders were burnt as heretics. This effort for suppressing the Reformation in France has been mentioned by Fleury, a Jesuit priest.

“From time to time some false prophet appeared upon the scene, to publish his fanaticism, or sound the disposition of the court. But repression was prompt. It cost dear to many for having spoken under pretended inspiration. They were all burnt alive; and a dread of fire silenced the spirit of several oracles.” “History mentions these despicable persons, doubtless to perpetuate the reproach of their birth and impiety, rather than to celebrate these vile founders of the Calvinistic church.” “An annual procession was instituted to render thanks to God that they had got rid of such heretics.”

This exhibits the spirit manifested in the period of the reign of Francis I.

His time was largely engaged in the operations of war with either Charles V or Henry VIII; and, while he persecuted with unrelenting vigor the Protestants of France, he did not scruple to give aid and encouragement to the Reformed within the limits of the dominions of the Emperor of Germany whenever they rebelled against Papal persecution. And Charles V was governed by the same principles in relation to the Protestants of France.

History clearly shows that religious faith had little or no effect upon the acts of the chief rulers of Europe further than it served their political policy during the reigns of the three

monarchs here referred to; and even the bigoted successor of Charles V was at all times ready to aid the Protestants of Navarre when he could withdraw them from an alliance with France; while at the same time he was using all his military power to crush out liberty, and establish the Inquisition in the provinces of the Netherlands.

There will be found but little exception from this in later and more recent times.

Marriage and religion has with royalty, with few exceptions, been governed by matters of expediency. The great question for decision has been what would best strengthen and perpetuate the claims of royalty.

Likewise the nobility shared largely the same policy; what there was that might be called religious faith, rested with the middle and lower classes of society, and with these their minds were largely governed by superstition and fanaticism, leaving of what might be called rational faith a small part.

When Calvin published his "Christian Institutes" at Geneva, he dedicated the work to Francis I, imploring his compassion for the Protestants. This, Cardinal Tournon represented to his majesty "as an outrage upon his honor and the religion of his ancestors." The effect was to increase rather than diminish persecution. "It was even declared a crime to pray in French." "It became about as dangerous to converse in secret as to discuss these questions in public."

Nothing escaped the vigilance of the Cardinal Tournon. Foreign princes were accustomed to say that "the cardinal alone was equal to an inquisition in France."

The most awful acts against those who refused obedience to the Romish church in this reign were those inflicted upon the descendants of the ancient Vaudois, who had settled in the mountain districts of Dauphine, where, by their peaceful and quiet industry, they were leading a comfortable and happy life.

They had heard of the severe persecutions against the Huguenots, whose faith was similar to their own, which led them to express their sympathy in their behalf, and a detestation of the superstitions of Popery. This coming to the knowledge of the court, a decree was passed ordering them to appear and give an account of their religion; but, delaying to obey this decree, "an order was passed for their extermination as rebels; their goods were to be confiscated, their houses destroyed, and that even the trees of their plantation should be dug up."*

This order was delayed until 1545, when Francis I, near the close of his reign, permitted it to be executed.

Says the historian De Thou: "Everything was horrible and cruel in the sentence pronounced against them, and everything more horrible and more cruel in its execution." Twenty-two towns or villages were burned or sacked with an inhumanity of which the history of the most barbarous people hardly presents an example. The unfortunate inhabitants, surprised in the night by a brutal soldiery, were pursued by the light of their burning dwellings and slain indiscriminately. Voluntary surrender did not exempt any; neither the cries of the aged nor the women and children had the power to soften the excesses of their brutality. It was forbidden, under pain of death, to afford them any refuge. The women, in instances where they had remained shut up in their houses, were hunted out and driven in large numbers into barns filled with straw, which were then set on fire, and all who attempted to escape were forced back by the sword, and consumed by the flames.

The destruction was complete; their mountain homes were one scene of desolation. Maimbourg represents over 3,000 persons killed, and 900 houses plundered and then destroyed.

* This decree dates November 18, 1540. See Browning's History of the Huguenots, page 23.

Other historians confirm the facts here given ; but it is asserted that the king's orders for their punishment were exceeded.

Such was the condition of the French Protestants at the death of Francis I, which occurred March 31, 1547, at the age of fifty-three years. He was a man of ability ; but his character was tainted with debauchery, characteristic of that period, which hastened his death. His only surviving son, born of his wife Claude, March 31, 1519, now came to the throne of France as Henry II.

He was married in his 14th year, October 28, 1533, to Catherine de Medici, daughter of Lorenzo de Medici, Duke of Urbino, who was about his age.

During his reign his court was much divided in their religious sentiments, as well as their political aspirations. The wars with Germany and the Spanish monarchy, which had so largely engaged the attention of his father, were continued, but with less ability. He also renewed the persecutions against the Protestants. Many of the nobles and some of the princes of the royal family gave their support to the Reformation. The king's mistress, Diana de Portiers, the celebrated Duchess de Valentinois, had great influence in this reign, supplanting most entirely the queen, Catherine de Medici.

In the reign of Francis I, his predecessor, there arose in France a class of persons remarkable for their subsequent acts, which gave tone to the moral, civil, and religious affairs of the kingdom, embracing not only the reigns of the four succeeding kings of the House of Valois, but extending their influence into the following royal House of Bourbon.

The first of these were of the House of Guise, a younger branch of the ducal family of Lorraine, which, by marriage, became connected with the royal family of France. The Guises, to promote their interests, gave ardent support to the Romish church, and bitterly opposed the cause of the Reformation.

The second were those of the House of Conde ; these were a younger branch of the House of Bourbon, which, for a long period, held great influence in the affairs of Europe. These were also connected by marriage with the royal House of Valois and the royal family of Navarre. They were rivals of the Guises, and united with the Protestants and supported their cause.

The third was Admiral Coligny, honest and brave, a defender and lover of his country. He was a Calvinist in faith, and united with the Conde in the Protestant cause, and opposed the aspiring family of Guise. He deprecated the civil wars as greatly injurious to the kingdom, but was forced through necessity to join in them with the Conde, in behalf of the Protestants, to maintain his own religious sentiments, and in support of a common cause, against the persecutions by the Romish church.

The fourth was Catherine de Medici, of the celebrated family of that name, that possessed great power and wealth for many years in Tuscany. It was their wealth that induced Francis I to contract the marriage of his second son with Catherine, expecting that his eldest son would succeed him to the crown ; but his unexpected decease brought his son Henry to the throne, and made De Medici queen. Her family were strong supporters of the Papal church.

The character of Catherine, from her youthfulness, when she entered the French court, was readily conformed to the custom and taste of that period in France.

She had four sons and three daughters by this marriage. Three of her sons successively became Kings of France. Her eldest daughter, Elizabeth, became Queen of Spain, as the third wife of Philip II ; and her daughter, Margaret, by her marriage with Prince Henry, of Navarre, became Queen of France and Navarre, by the accession of her husband to the throne of France, as Henry IV, on the death of her brother, Henry III.

There is scarcely a name more odious in history than Catherine de Medici. She was noted for her powers of dissimulation and intrigue—treacherous to all parties, destitute of any declared principles in either civil or religious affairs, and quite ready to sacrifice either friends or foes to satisfy her love of power.

It was also during the reign of Francis I that arose that remarkable religious order in the Romish church called the “Society of Jesus,” or Jesuits. The founder, Ignatius Loyola, was born in 1491, in Spain, and in his youth served in the court of Ferdinand and Isabella. Having been wounded as a soldier at a later period of his life, he retired from the camp, when his mind was engaged in meditations upon religious affairs, and after several years of a solitary life in doing penance he originated this order in 1538, which, on application to Pope Paul III, and an ardent effort on his part, was admitted into connection with that church in September, 1540, and he became the chief of the order in 1541.

The characteristic principle of this order is the initiate vow which each member is obliged to take upon himself before he is accepted as one of that fraternity. They solemnly promise before God and the Pope, in the presence of the Virgin Mother and the Host, to observe perpetual poverty, chastity, and obedience to the commands of the church and the superiors of the order, leaving no discretion or preference on their part, even if the result is to be clearly a sacrifice of life for themselves or others.

They divide the world into provinces, each having a chief of the order, who receives orders of duty from the chief general who resides at Rome. These orders and plans are transmitted to each member wherever situated, in any part of the globe, and promptly executed, and the result reported back to the head at Rome, thus keeping up a constant surveillance over society and individuals everywhere, and with

perfect secrecy, except reports to superiors. The orders of the Pope or the chief of the order are regarded as the commands of God. The leaders, at first, were principally Spaniards, and were the tools of the Pope and King of Spain for executing secret plots. Frequent assassinations proceeded from this source. No hardships were too great, and no place too remote for their action ; neither the extreme heat of the tropics, nor the frozen regions of the two extremities of the earth, were any bars to their efforts. They penetrated alike the most polished courts, the highest abodes of civilization, and the distant regions of the most barbarous races of men. A secret and wily espionage was continually observed upon the acts of all, and every movement that militated against their designs and the effect of their doings was speedily forwarded to Rome.

The aspirations of the parties before described were awed into subjection during this reign, but exercised an influence which gave tone to its character.

The persecution of the Huguenots was early renewed. In the precincts of Guyenne, Santonge, and Angoumois, where the Reform party were most numerous, the Duke of Guise and the Constable Montmorency were dispatched with armed forces, that for a time subjected the Huguenots, through the brutal slaughter of large numbers of those who adhered to the Reformed faith.

At Paris several ministers and leading parties, convicted of preaching the new faith and giving encouragement to the same, were doomed to the flames.

In these executions the king and court appeared at the scene to witness the sacrifice.

While these rigid acts of intolerance were in exercise in France, Henry II did not hesitate to send troops to assist the Protestants in the Netherlands, while Charles V was using

the most rigorous measures to suppress the Reformation among the people.

The result of this foreign war for France was favorable to this reign, as well as advantageous to the Protestants in Germany. By the terms of the peace concluded in 1552, called the "Treaty of Passau," the cities of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which had been under the protectorate of the emperor, but not an integral part of his empire, were now retained in possession of France, greatly to the mortification of Charles V; and, although he soon after struggled hard to regain them, they have ever since remained as a part of the French kingdom till the late war between France and Prussia, when some part or all passed to the latter power, as is believed.

The ill success of Charles V in his endeavors to suppress the Reformation, being compelled to conclude this favorable treaty, granting tolerance to the heretics, the loss of these cities, and the presto of his arms, in his endeavors to recapture them, was no doubt the cause of his abdication, and finally led to his death at the monastery of St. Just, in Estremadura, September 21, 1558, at the age of fifty-eight. His son, Philip II, continued the wars of his father against Henry II, and renewed the war of persecution against the Protestants of the Netherlands; these wars were carried on with great effort on both sides, and by Philip with inhuman severity.*

Henry II, naturally inclined to a life of ease and pleasure, was induced, even with some sacrifice, to relieve himself of these foreign wars, and secure a peace with the King of Spain. Fortunately for this object, Mary Tudor, Queen of England, died while this attempt at peace occurred. This released

* Philip II, son of Charles V, of Germany, was born at Valladolid, Spain, May 21, 1527. He married Mary of Portugal in 1543, who died in 1545, after the birth of her son. His second marriage was with Mary Tudor, of England, in 1554, who died childless in 1558; he married Elizabeth of France, in 1559, who died in 1568; when, in 1570, he married Anne of Austria, daughter of Maximilian II. who became the mother of his successor, Philip III. He died, September 13, 1598, aged seventy-one.

Philip II from a marriage which had brought no favorable results to his kingdom, and there was no prospect for a marriage with Elizabeth, the successor to the English crown.

With the negotiations for this peace in 1559 he solicited and obtained the hand of Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Henry II, then in her fourteenth year, who had been previously pledged in marriage to his unfortunate son, Don Carlos, the only child of his first wife, Mary, the *infanta* of Portugal; and, as an additional bond of peace, Piedmont was surrendered to the Duke of Savoy, who was to receive in marriage Margaret, daughter of Francis I, sister of the King.

As might be expected, great preparation was made to celebrate these nuptials and peace.

And as there were a large number of noted persons from Spain and Savoy who were friends and firm adherents of the Romish church, the bishops and leading Catholics of France proposed to the king to make an exhibit of his devotion to the Papal cause by taking severe measures for suppressing the increasing progress of the Reformation, and this particularly in respect to the marriage of his daughter to the King of Spain.

The Bourbon princes of the blood, Anthony, King of Navarre, in right of his wife, and Henry, Prince of Conde, by the influence of Francis, Duke of Guise, and his brother, the Cardinal of Lorraine, had been wronged and kept from the court in the former and present reign, which accounts for their enmity to that family; and, as the Guises were sustained by the Catholics, it explains the reason for their favoring the Huguenots.

The Queen of Navarre, Jane de Albret, had from early youth been trained in the faith of the Reformed by her mother.

With such examples in the royal family, great encouragements had been given to the hearts of the Protestants; when

Henry II, deemed it his duty at this time, being relieved from the heavy duties occasioned by the late wars, to make an earnest effort to suppress the advancing cause of the Reformation.

For this purpose he was encouraged by the bishops and cardinals to strike a blow upon persons of note who held high places in the government. Several counselors had favored toleration to the Protestants in his presence. These and many well-known Protestants were ordered to be arrested, and were tried and condemned for heresy, and sentenced to be burned at the stake.

The ambassadors of several Protestant princes in Germany petitioned the king for a mitigation of their sentence, but their petitions were not regarded. Great consternation fell upon the Huguenots by the severity of this movement, and they began to regard their condition as almost hopeless; but, in the midst of this despondency, while the splendor and magnificence of the celebration was in progress, a tournament was held on the 29th of June, 1559, in which the king was engaged, and, as was to be expected with the courtiers who participated, the sovereign gained the laurels.

Henry II, elated with his success, called upon the captain of his Scotch guards, Count Montgomery, to appear in this trial of skill with the lance, there being two yet unbroken.

The count endeavored to be excused, and the queen used her efforts to dissuade the king from renewing the encounter. But Henry insisted; when the combatants rushed upon each other, and the king, by receiving a splinter from Montgomery's lance in his left eye, fell upon the ground, and was immediately taken to his palace, where, after eleven days, he expired, July 10, 1599, aged forty-five.*

* Henry II had the honor, in his reign, of taking from England the last foot of French soil which that power held in France. Calais, which England had held over 200 years, was besieged by Francis, Duke of Guise, and restored to France, January 8, 1558.

This sudden calamity placed a new phase upon the condition of the condemned Huguenots. The termination of this reign before their sentence was executed, set them free.

His eldest son, Francis Hercules, Duke of Alencon, now came to the throne, at the age of sixteen years, as Francis II.

This may properly be said to be a crisis in the kingdom of France ; instead of one central head in the government, factions ruled. The great wars for foreign territory and glory in the field had ended with Henry II. The three succeeding reigns, continuing until Henry IV came to the throne, and closing the House of Valois, presents a government of weakness, persecution, and confusion. Civil war prevailed a large portion of this period—about thirty years. The noted parties heretofore described, controlled alternately the affairs of the kingdom. The closing of the reign of Henry II was also a crisis in the Reformation in France ; up to this time the friends of reform had struggled without any stated declaration of their principles ; but now, like the German Protestants in publishing the Confessions of Augsburg, they became an organized body.

A national synod was held in Paris in 1559, by the leading ministers of the Calvinistic churches. A confession of faith and rules for the government of the Reformed churches were adopted and published.

This bold step evinced, not only an unshaken confidence in the righteousness of their cause, but an unmistakable determination to maintain it.

Their proclaimed object in sending forth these confessions of faith was similar to that of the Germans—to refute misrepresentations of their religious faith, which had been spread abroad by the Papists, and to make known their real sentiments.

These confessions contained forty articles,* set forth with

* See Rev. John G. Lorimer's *History of the Protestant Church of France*, republished by the Presbyterian Board of Publication, Philadelphia, in 1842; pp. 24-35.

great clearness. It is said that Calvin took part in forming these confessions, or counseled, as Luther did with Melancthon, in forming those of Augsburg.

This act of the French Protestants, not only strengthened and confirmed the faith of those who had united in support of the Reformation, but it led many others to join with them.

It is represented that when the general synod met at Rochelle in 1571, twelve years from the date of its first organization in 1559, the French Protestant church had advanced to its highest point of prosperity. The presiding officer at this meeting was the noted French Reformer, Theodore de Beza. It is stated that he reported the number of their churches at this time to be 2,150. Among the many noted persons present at this synod were Jane de Albret and her son, Prince Henry, afterwards Henry IV, of France; Henry, Prince of Conde; Prince Louis, Count of Nassau; and Admiral Gaspard de Coligny.*

Francis II, in 1558, the year preceding the death of his father, married Mary Stuart, of Scotland; she was the daughter of James V, who died about ten days after her birth, December, 1542. She was crowned Queen of Scotland, September 9, 1543, and having by her mother been betrothed to the dauphin of France, was sent to that court at the age of six years, and received her education and formed her character there. At the time of her marriage she was about the age of her husband.

Her mother was Mary of Lorraine, daughter of Claud, the first Duke of Guise, and the founder of that family, then conspicuous in France.

Mary Stuart, the young queen, was a beautiful and intelligent person, while her husband was weak physically and

* See W. S. Browning's *History of the Huguenots*, chapters 3 and 4, inclusive. Lorrimer's historical sketch of the Protestant church of France; also Nath'l Wm. Wraxall's *History of France*, in the reigns of Francis I and Henry II; likewise Menzel's *History of Germany*, in the reign of Charles V.

mentally. She was the admiration of the French court ; but, by her confiding character, became the dupe of her uncles, the Guises ; and they, in this short reign, through her influence over the king, governed the kingdom.

The persecutions against the Protestants were in this reign carried on with increased severity ; courts of ecclesiastical judicature were established with inquisitorial powers ; the strictest search was made to discover any departure from the Romish faith ; and all religious offenders were brought to severe punishment.

The Protestants, by this rigorous course, were driven to a state of despair. They were liable at any moment to be brought before this court upon suspicion, or even doubtful evidence, and many were condemned as heretics, and made to suffer an ignominious death.

The Guises were justly regarded as the chief cause of this sad state of affairs. This rigid course against the Protestants caused them and their friends to unite for a common defense ; and their first step for protection was to take the young king away from the influence of the Guises. In attempting to seize the king and Catherine de Medici, his mother, they were discovered before their plans were matured, when about 1,200 of these conspirators were put to death.

This act of the Protestants was, no doubt, an extreme measure, but deemed necessary under the desperate condition of their affairs. This was called the "Conspiracy of Amboise," which occurred on the 15th of March, 1560.

Though neither Louis, Prince of Conde, nor Coligny, had at this time declared themselves the head of the Protestant party, yet they were known to have favored the doctrines of Calvin. In the following August, when the court and nobility held a meeting at Fontainebleau, Coligny and many of his friends being present, he presented to Francis II a petition unsigned, in which a toleration was demanded for the professors

of the Reformed faith, adding that though as yet no names were affixed, still, whenever his majesty should be pleased to signify his pleasure, it would be instantly signed by 150,000 persons.

This act of Coligny offended the Guises, and was the commencement of that bitterness that from this time continued between these parties.*

The conduct of the Guises displayed such haughtiness and bitterness against Anthony, the King of Navarre, and Louis, Prince of Conde, that they did not appear at the court at Fontainebleau. This was regarded by the Bourbon princes as a design to entrap them, and they were not long left in suspense in that respect, as they soon learned that the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine were determined on their destruction.

With this view the Guises had induced Francis II to call a council at Orleans, and had the Bourbon princes summoned imperatively to appear. After much hesitation and urging, the King of Navarre and his brother, the Prince of Conde, and also the admiral and his brother, d'Andelot de Chatillon, appeared at the court about the same time. Although the strongest assurances of protection had been given them, the Prince of Conde was immediately arrested and with much haste tried and condemned to be beheaded as a rebel. Great exertion was used with Francis II for an arrest of this judgment by his friends, especially by his mother and the Princess of Conde. At last, the Guises were appealed to, when they replied, "We must with one blow cut off the head of both heresy and rebellion."

* Gaspard de Chatillon, Admiral Coligny, born, February 16, 1517, was murdered in Paris, August 24, 1572, a victim of the St. Bartholomew Massacre. He was author of the French military code. For his bravery while in command against the emperor, Charles V, he was appointed by Henry II, Governor of Picardy, and received the title of Admiral. He was the principal military leader of the Protestants up to the time of his death. In the reign of Charles IX he made several unsuccessful attempts in planting Protestant colonies in America; that in Florida, in 1562, was the movement which led to the founding of St. Augustine, the first European colony in North America.



GASPARD DE COLIGNY

ADMIRAL OF FRANCE

The complete destruction of the Protestants was to follow. It was believed by the Catholics that if the leaders and the Bourbon princes, their supposed chief reliance for counsel and defense, were cut off, the suppression of the Reformation in France would be easily accomplished.

Francis II and his mother, Catherine de Medici, were pressed on with haste by the Guises to make this general slaughter, and no appeals for mercy could induce the king to interpose against this terrible measure. But Catherine, possessing more forecast, saw that, with the destruction of the Bourbon princes, the admiral, and their friends, the balance of power, upon which her safety depended, would be lost, and she and the king, and the succession in her family, would be in the hands of the Princes of Lorraine; but so long as Francis II ruled, the Guises overpowered her influence.

Nothing but the sickness of Francis II prevented the immediate execution of this wicked and bloody scheme. The king died the 5th of December, 1560. This not only relieved the Bourbon princes and the Protestants from the contemplated butchery, but closed this reign, and, for a time, the influence of the Guises in the French court.

The second son of Henry II and Catherine de Medici now came to the throne at the age of ten years, as Charles IX, with his mother as regent.

Catherine de Medici now, for the first time, had the opportunity to gratify her love of power. For a time she ruled the kingdom, and, for the first time, gave full scope to her unscrupulous character. Her self-reliance was equal to her opportunity. She treated with neglect or severity all who presumed to interfere with her plans.

The influence of Mary Stuart in the French court was now at an end, the young ex-queen having, by the death of Francis II, her husband, and the superseding of the Guises by her mother-in-law, De Medici, been shut out from participating in

the affairs of court, and furthermore treated with coldness by the regent, soon began to prepare her plans for returning to her own kingdom of Scotland.

She embarked at Calais, and arrived at Leith, in Scotland, August 19, 1561, having been absent in France about thirteen years.

Great was the change of affairs in her kingdom during her absence. Instead of the Romish church and French influence prevailing, the Reformation had been established, and the stern John Knox was the leading spirit. The happy days of the youthful "Queen of Scots" having now passed, severe trials encompassed her path, which she encountered with much spirit for a period of about seven years, full of stirring events, then withdrew, very unwisely, to England, where Queen Elizabeth, after about twenty years' imprisonment, caused her to be beheaded at the age of forty-five years.*

Catherine de Medici, trained from her early childhood a Papist, did not scruple to tamper with the pride and influence of the Guises, by calling to her aid the Bourbon princes. Anthony, King of Navarre, was requested to aid the new government with his council; while the able but tolerant Chancellor l'Hopital was continued in the court; and furthermore to counteract the great influence of the Guises, Prince Louis of Conde, who had been set at liberty, was again admitted to court in January, 1561. These steps favored much the cause of the Protestants, and now the subtle queen-regent, fearing to give too much power into the hands of the Bourbon princes and their friends, which included the Protestant

* Mary Stuart, daughter of James V, of Scotland, was born, December, 1542, her father dying about ten days after her birth. She became queen in 1543, at the age of about nine months; removed to France in 1548, and married the dauphin, Francis, in 1558; and in 1559, by the death of Henry II, became Queen of France. Returned to Scotland in 1561; married Lord Darnly in 1565; her only child, born in 1566, was James VI, of Scotland, who, on the death of Queen Elizabeth, became James I, of England. Darnly was killed in 1567; she married the Earl of Bothwell same year; fled to England 1568; was imprisoned about twenty years, and was beheaded in 1587.

party, began again to solicit the favor of the Princes of Lorraine. At this point came the strife between the two great parties which now divided the kingdom. Catherine, fearing the great power of the Papists, who were led by the Guises, decided in their favor, apparently for the time, but still held on to the friends of the Protestants, vacillating between the two extremes, in order to neutralize the power of each.

At this juncture of parties, the Guises formed a union with the Constable Montmorency, who had hitherto favored the Bourbon princes and the admiral, and to these was united the Marechal de St. Andre. This union took the name of the "Triumvirate."

Under this state of parties the ceremony of the coronation of Charles IX was performed, May 15, 1561, at Rheims. Now was brought about an apparent reconciliation of Francis, Duke of Guise, and Louis, Prince of Conde, the great leaders of the two factions at this time.

An ecclesiastical assembly was summoned to meet at Poissy, which took the name of a conference, through the influence of the Pope, instead of a council.

At this assembly the Cardinal of Lorraine was to advocate the claims of the Romish church, while the able Theodore de Beza supported the side of the Protestants. The only effect of this was to widen the existing differences upon religious faith. It was found useless to continue the discussion, when it was agreed that a commission of five from each party should be selected to confer upon the points in dispute. Both sides now composed confessions of faith, which were reciprocally rejected, and finally the conference closed, each party flattering themselves that they had gained by the assembly; still the difference in matters of faith had in no respect been changed or settled; but the Papists, by bribery, had strengthened their cause by buying over Anthony, the King of Navarre, greatly to the disgust of his former friends.

The Protestants received protection from the queen-regent at this time, and propagated their doctrines with much success. This caused the Papists to complain of their public preachings, and in some parts where the Protestants were not very numerous, commenced to use force to protect their religion from such opposition, when reprisals ensued on the part of the Protestants, and the whole kingdom presented a state of anarchy.

To attempt to relieve the country from the disordered state of religious affairs, the chancellor called a meeting of the nobility at St. Germain, at which time, in his speech, he introduced the following wise remarks :

“Dost the interest of the state require the permission or the prohibition of the meetings of the Calvinists? To decide, it is not necessary to examine religious doctrines; for even supposing the Protestant religion to be bad, is that a sufficient reason for proscribing those who profess it? Is it not possible to be a good subject without being a Catholic or even a Christian? And can not fellow-citizens differing in their religious opinions still live in good harmony? Do not, therefore, fatigue yourselves with inquiring which of the two religions is best; we are here, not to establish a dogma of faith, but to regulate a state.”

These liberal ideas were in advance of that age; yet their reasonableness had the effect to produce the well-known tolerant edict of January 17, 1561-'62. This granted the Protestants the privilege of exercising their religion outside the towns, but unarmed. Their ministers were forbidden to criticise the ceremonies of the Catholic religion or to hold any synod without permission of the court, or to travel from town to town to preach, but to confine themselves to one church; this was to continue until a council should assemble to decide the questions in dispute.

This edict was considered a triumph for the Protestants, but received with gloomy silence by the Romish church. It was recorded as law in the different precincts of the kingdom.

The Pope's legate and the Spanish ambassador at the French

court made great effort to induce the queen-regent to evade this edict, and to dismiss the admiral and his brother, d'Andelot, from the court; and when the queen gave as a reason for not complying, "that the Calvinists were a powerful party," the ambassadors made an offer of troops to support her.

The Guises, who had kept aloof from the assembly of St. Germain, influenced the Triumvirate to collect troops during the following winter, and to seize on the king's person in the spring.

It being understood by Coligny that the design of the Catholics was a civil war (headed on their part by the Triumvirate), he united with the Prince of Conde, and called on him to make a public profession of the Protestant religion, which he did.

The excitement of the Papists by the influence of the Pope's legate against the meetings of the Huguenots, now began to cause many murders of Protestants in unprotected districts.

The Duke of Guise was summoned by the Catholics to appear at Paris, as the queen-regent continued closely connected with the Huguenots. This movement was in February, 1562.

In March following, while the Duke of Guise was passing through Vassy, the Huguenots were assembled for divine service; and, while he expressed great indignation at the independence of the Huguenots, and visited a Catholic church with a part of his followers, the others hastened to the Protestant church, and commenced an attack upon the audience. The Catholics spared neither sex nor age, and during this fanatical attack about eighty of the Huguenots were murdered. This caused great indignation throughout the kingdom. The Duke of Guise was stigmatized with the title of the *Butcher of Vassy*.

This was the first aggressive step which led to the religious wars, which were carried on with great barbarity and desola-

ting effect for over thirty years. Actual hostilities by the military forces on each side began in the latter part of June, 1562. These wars favored alternately one side and the other, the power of the throne not being able to restore peace. The Triumvirate, to secure their power more fully, seized the young king and kept him under their protection, making their acts as a matter of defense for the crown, and to show that their opponents were rebels.

The condition of affairs in the kingdom was such during the year 1562, that the Huguenots had no other choice left them but to either surrender at discretion, leave the kingdom, or fight for their rights ; and their leaders, the Prince Louis de Conde, the admiral, and his brother, chose the latter course.

Through a period of about seven years, up to the close of the battle of Jarnac, the war had raged with intense hatred upon each side, when most of the leaders who were the cause of the war had perished.

The deaths of these leaders were as follows : The King of Navarre, Anthony of Bourbon, lost his life at the siege of Rouen, September, 1562 ; the Marshal de St. Andre was slain in the battle near Dreux, in Normandy ; while, in the same battle, Louis, Prince of Conde, fell into the hands of the royalists, and the Constable Montmorency was taken prisoner by the Protestants. This was a severe battle for the opposition. Flushed with the hard-won victory at Dreux, the Duke of Guise determined to lay siege to the stronghold of the Protestants at the city of Orleans, and having nearly reduced the place, which must have surrendered in a few weeks, he was assassinated, February 18, 1563, by a private gentleman of Angoumois, named John Poltrot de Mere. This relieved the Huguenots.

These terrible disasters did not soften the hearts of either side any further than to bring about a temporary peace.

Admiral Coligny was accused of effecting this assassination ; but it is quite clearly proved by history that he was not guilty of this atrocious act ; yet the son of the duke, Henry III, Duke of Guise, vowed perpetual enmity against him as his father's murderer.

By the peace succeeding this battle the Prince of Conde and the Constable Montmorency were released to their respective parties.

During this peace, concluded in 1563, the regent, Catherine de Medici, caused the palace of Tournelles, at Paris, to be demolished, and erected in its place the present noted palace of the Tuilleries.

The death of the Duke of Guise put an end to the powerful and noted Triumvirate, and by this event Catherine de Medici was left without any restraint upon her schemes of advancement. Her chief plan now was to lull the Huguenots by pomp and display, and to demoralize them by her duplicity, in endeavoring to create discord among their principal men.

Her chief effort in this respect was to seduce from the Protestant party their most influential leader, the Prince of Conde, and, for a time, her plans had the effect to demoralize his habits and character ; but a timely and friendly interview with his friend, Coligny, who forcibly remonstrated with him on the pernicious consequences, public as well as personal, of his continual deviations from decorum, had the good result of leading him to accept these truths, acknowledge the justice of these expostulations, and devote himself with firm adherence to their cause.

During the quiet of the country under this peace Catherine planned for the young king a tour through many provinces of the kingdom, attended by a brilliant display of courtiers, apparently to show to his subjects the young sovereign.

The characteristic tone of the queen's disposition was displayed in the preparations made for this journey. Besides the courtiers and a brilliant collection of ladies, who joined in this tour, were the Duke of Anjou, the eldest of the king's two brothers, and Margaret, his youngest sister, who afterwards became wife of Prince Henry of Navarre, accompanied by Catherine, who directed all the movements of the party.

The court, after traveling through several provinces, and giving the most lavish and brilliant entertainments, arrived at Bayonne in June, 1565.

Here took place the celebrated interview between Charles IX and his sister Elizabeth, the Queen of Spain, who was conducted to the Spanish borders by a splendid train of the nobility of her court, at the head of which Philip II had placed the noted Duke of Alva and the Count de Benevento.

Here the river Bidassoa, the dividing line of the two kingdoms, separated the two royal parties on their arrival. Catherine, impatient to embrace her daughter, crossed over to meet her, while Charles waited to receive his sister personally at Bayonne. The interview continued for three weeks with all the pomp and magnificence for which the exquisite taste of the queen-mother was so remarkable. While pleasure seemed to engross every thought of all, and all enmity and party differences appeared for the time to have been suspended and forgotten, a continued series of interviews were kept up during these festivities between Catherine de Medici and the Duke of Alva, as has been asserted, on the subject of extirpating the Huguenots. Intimations of these plans soon came to the knowledge of the Huguenot leaders, which created such distrust that it was not in the power of the court or the artful display of the queen-mother to dispel. Soon after this noted interview these displays terminated.

The conduct of the court was such during the year 1566 that the edicts of toleration and protection for the Huguenots

were little respected by the Papists ; while the appeals for redress of wrongs received from the Protestants were in no adequate manner heeded. These grievances of the Calvinists were frequently brought to the notice of the Prince of Conde and the admiral.

They were slow to act, both desiring, if possible, to avoid a renewal of the direful calamities of another civil war. Soon after, however, receiving information that it had been determined by the court to seize on them both, to detain the prince in perpetual imprisonment, and to put Coligny to death, they were obliged to prepare measures for their protection. It was resolved to begin by an attempt to get possession of the young king. This, at first, did not appear difficult to accomplish ; but Catherine, having received intelligence of the approach of the Prince of Conde and Coligny, suspected their intentions, and hastily retired to the city of Meaux. Montmorency was dispatched to meet the Huguenot chiefs, and to discuss propositions for the relief of the Protestants, to gain time for Catherine to provide for the defense of the sovereign. While the Constable Montmorency proposed to the queen and her advisers moderate measures, and to leave the king in his quietness at the city of Meaux, the Cardinal of Lorraine, more violent, advocated the removal of the king to Paris, which latter advice having prevailed, immediate steps were taken to effect this object ; and, although the party received repeated attacks from the cavalry of the Huguenots, the court's plans were successful.

Ineffectual negotiations succeeded ; both parties, inflamed with bigotry and hatred, were not in a condition to listen to any acceptable terms of peace.

War was again inaugurated by an attempt of the Huguenots to lay siege to Paris. The Prince of Conde and Coligny commanded the Protestants, while Montmorency, an old veteran soldier, headed the royalists. A battle was fought on

the plains of St. Denis ; and, although the victory fell to the superior number of the royalists, the old Constable Montmorency here lost his life. When about to expire by his severe wounds received in this battle, he was approached by a Franciscan friar, wearying him with religious exhortations in his last moments, which induced from the old soldier the memorable reply :

“ Dost thou imagine that I have lived to near fourscore years without having yet learned to die a single quarter of an hour ?”

He was the last of the old school whose counsels had any effect upon Catherine de Medici. He alone could have ventured to inspire the young king to reign independent of his mother's counsels ; his death gave her an unlimited career for the exertion of her pernicious influence over the mind of Charles IX. It is said that the natural qualities of the character of Charles IX fitted him for an able prince, if it had not been corrupted by his mother, in whom he had unlimited confidence. Soon after the ill success of the Huguenots before Paris, they were reinforced by German auxiliaries, led to their aid by Cassimir, son of the Elector Palatine—while the important city of Rochelle declared in their favor

The French and Germans, composing the Huguenot force, formed a numerous army, which, in February, 1568, commenced a siege of the city of Chartres. While before this city, propositions of peace were proposed by Catherine, which were finally accepted on the 2d of March following. This, however, was but temporary, it being a plan to effect the seizure of the Prince of Conde, or to do that by deception which could not be reached by honorable means.

By a seizure of the great Calvinist leaders while deluded by the terms of the late peace, Catherine hoped to make an easy conquest of the rank and file of the believers in the Reformed religion, and thus compel a return to the Romish church.

This treacherous movement, when known, only tended to arouse the Huguenots and to strengthen their cause.

A general assembly of the Huguenots was held at the city of Rochelle, which now became the principal seat of the Protestant power.

The armies, greatly strengthened, again took the field in March, 1569, when was fought on the banks of the river Charente, in the province of Angoumois, a severe battle, known as the battle of Jarnac. This was a victory for the Catholics, and made memorable by the death of the able leader of the Huguenots, Prince Louis, of Conde. After being wounded and made prisoner, he was assassinated by a captain of the Duke of Anjou's guards, who discharged a pistol-ball into the prince's head, which instantly killed him.

The court and Romish church were now fully persuaded that by the death of Conde the whole Huguenot faction could be easily destroyed.

But they had not in this judgment fully weighed the principles which governed the Reform party, nor correctly appreciated the ability of Admiral Coligny, upon whom the leadership now fell. Although the Prince of Conde was able both in the field of war and in the councils of the kingdom, yet he was not attached to the religious principles of the Calvinists like Coligny. The admiral now gave all his attention to gathering up and strengthening his forces, and in this effort he received great support from the intelligent and able Jane de Albret, Queen of Navarre, who had inherited the genius and elegance of her mother, Margaret of Valois. She, in company with her son, Prince Henry, journeyed from her residence at Nerac to Rochelle, where she harangued the troops drawn up for that purpose, and Coligny was immediately declared General-in-Chief of the Huguenot forces under the Prince of Navarre and his cousin, Henry, the young Prince of Conde.

The great rejoicing of the court over the death of Conde, and the elated spirit of the Papists, was soon found to be premature. The Huguenot army, under Coligny, became more formidable than ever before.

Each of the contending parties renewed the strife with increased zeal, and with alternate success and defeat, until nearly every province of the kingdom became desolated by the ravages of war.

Anarchy and confusion were general throughout the land. When least expected, Admiral Coligny, reinforced by English and German auxiliaries, re-appeared on the 25th of January, 1570, in the heart of France, at the head of an army which menaced even the crown.

The imperial army was powerless to stay the progress of the Huguenot legions; while the royal treasury was empty, the country exhausted, and unable to afford supplies for additions to the royal forces.

The wily Catherine, under these circumstances, again sought for terms of peace.

She always, more in her true element in exercising her powers of diplomacy rather than in war, hoped to accomplish in time of peace what she could not effect by force of arms.

Her propositions were favorable to the Huguenots, and when embodied in a treaty which was concluded on the 15th of August, 1570, she and the king solemnly pledged themselves to their faithful observance. Charles IX and his court became convinced that so long as the admiral led the Huguenots the royal army was powerless to enforce submission to the Papal church or order in the government; and submission to the toleration of the Reformed faith was apparently the only resort to preserve the royal authority of the kingdom in the present reigning prince. In this extremity of affairs Catherine de Medici devised the scheme known as the "Massacre of St. Bartholomew."

In this plan she received into the counsel of herself and her son, Charles IX, Henry, Duke of Anjou, and Henry III, Duke of Guise, who burned with hatred and revenge against the admiral, for his supposed complicity in the assassination of his father.

This fatal plot was introduced by the marriage of several parties, got up for the purpose of attracting the attention of all the members of the nobility, both Catholic and Huguenot.

The first preliminary for confirming the bonds of this peace was the marriage of Margaret, sister of the king and daughter of Catherine de Medici, with Prince Henry, of Navarre; this was the principal preliminary which was to draw the Huguenots into the snare she had designed for them.

The young Duke of Guise attempted to raise obstacles to this match, as there was a mutual attachment between him and Margaret, and it has been said that they were at the time pledged to each other; yet this was given up by the influence of the king, who considered his sister as the principal instrument wherewith to deceive and allure Coligny and the Calvinist chiefs to repair to the court. Warned of the king's sentiments, and desiring to revenge the death of his father upon Coligny, Henry, Duke of Guise, to release himself from Margaret, consented to a marriage with Catherine of Cleves; while the admiral was to be put in possession of the estates of his late brother, the Cardinal de Chatillon, and receive a present of 100,000 crowns to furnish the castle.

After the marriage of the Duke of Guise to the Princess of Cleves, then came that of the king; Catherine having in vain solicited the hand of Queen Elizabeth of England for her son, selected the Archduchess Elizabeth, daughter of the Emperor Maximillian II, to become Queen of France. She met the king at Mezieres in Champagne, where the marriage ceremonies were performed with great splendor, November 26, 1570. Her coronation was celebrated at St. Denis on the 25th of March following.

Everything that could be devised to keep up a friendly intercourse with the Huguenots was continued. Coligny, the chief victim to be disposed of, was constantly called in to counsel with the king in reference to important court matters, and Charles IX went so far as to engage the admiral to arrange plans for advancing an army to the aid of the people of the Netherlands, against whom Philip II was then at war.

Finally all arrangements were completed for celebrating the marriage of Henry, Prince of Navarre, with Margaret of Valois. Gregory XIII, who succeeded Pius V as the head of the Romish church, having granted the dispensation for this marriage, so long withheld by his predecessor, a day was fixed for the nuptials.

In order to be present at her son's marriage, Jane de Albret repaired to Paris, accompanied by the Princes of Navarre and Conde, June 5, 1572 ; but while she was engaged in preparation for the approaching ceremony a malignant fever put an end to her life after five days' illness.

The Queen of Navarre's death, supposed by the Huguenots to have been caused designedly by parties in high position in the court, caused alarm, and many declined to repair to Paris. Coligny himself, dreading Catherine and the king's treachery, instead of repairing to court, retired to his castle of Chatillon. It required new artifices to allure him from his retreat. The hostilities against Philip II in the Netherlands were commenced, as had been talked of between him and the king, which was the strongest assurance of the friendship of Charles in his favor. The admiral finally yielded against his judgment, and arrived in Paris, accompanied by a great number of the Huguenot nobility.

The marriage of Henry, Prince of Conde, with Mary of Cleves, sister to the duchess, the wife of Henry, Duke of Guise, having been solemnized, that of his cousin, the King of Navarre, was fixed for the following month, as the last and crowning act

to aid in closing the contemplated tragedy. Every demonstration of friendship of the most cordial character was given in favor of the Huguenot nobles and their celebrated leader.

The inhabitants of Rochelle, who had received so many acts of friendship and evidences of the firmness of Coligny in support of the Calvinistic faith against the Papists, could not be convinced of the sincerity of Charles IX and his mother in their sudden change from bitter hostility to such acts of amity and affection, and repeatedly warned Coligny not to rely upon their pretensions.

The city of Rochelle was now the stronghold of the Huguenots ; here they received their military aid and supplies from abroad. The trade and commerce of this place was scarcely second to any other city in the kingdom.

It is a matter of little surprise that the inhabitants of Rochelle should have manifested at this time great concern for the welfare of the leaders of the party on whom their religion, safety, and prosperity so much depended.

Their admonitions, however, were not heeded, and Coligny, with other leaders of note who had become distinguished for their defense of the Reformed religion, fell a sacrifice to the duplicity of Catherine de Medici.

The crowning act which was to lead to this sacrifice of the Huguenot nobility was now to be consummated. The marriage of Henry of Navarre with Margaret of Valois was finally fixed for the 18th of August, and to be solemnized at the church of Notre Dame in Paris.

The bride, now in her twentieth year, possessed remarkable accomplishments, with great personal beauty. She appeared peculiarly fitted for this occasion. Her disposition and manners gained for her the friendship of the principal associates of the bridegroom and the Huguenot nobility, who had formed her acquaintance.

All things now gave place to this joyous occasion, which

was held forth as the cementing act that was to allay past prejudices and unite in a lasting bond of peace the two great religious parties.

At this point, when everything seemed to give evidence of great friendliness among both parties, there was an attempt, by a concealed person, to assassinate the admiral in the street, as he was passing to his lodgings.* This unlooked-for act startled the Huguenots, and, for a time, was regarded as a secret plan countenanced by the court, which had the effect to nearly defeat the remaining part of the acts in this wicked programme. It required the most adroit management of Charles and his mother to prevent the Huguenot nobility from an immediate departure from the city. They both manifested the greatest sympathy for Coligny, and assured him that the guilty party should be speedily brought to the severest punishment.

The daily visits of the king upon Coligny to inquire for his health, and to counsel upon the military operations now constantly proposed to be carried on in the Netherlands against their great enemy, Philip II, of Spain, led the admiral to decide to remain ; yet a number of his friends who believed this act upon the life of Coligny, as well as the death of the Queen of Navarre, to be but a part of some treacherous scheme for their destruction, could not be prevailed upon to remain through the prolonged festivities, but immediately left the city for their homes.

Thus the time had arrived, and no further delay could serve their interest for more favorably executing their designs upon the confiding and defenseless Huguenot guests ; such being the case, it was decided that the slaughter should

* This assassin was a man named Maurevel, infamous for acts of this character before this time. He placed himself at a window on the opposite side of the street, and discharged his piece with two balls, which struck the admiral in both arms. The criminal escaped on horseback.

commence, and accordingly, at two o'clock, on Sunday morning, the 24th of August, on the eve of St. Bartholomew, in 1572, the signal was given by the bell of the church of St. Germain de l'Auxerrois.

The preparation and conduct of the massacre was committed to Henry III, Duke of Guise, as being animated with a peculiar detestation of the admiral, whom he regarded as his father's assassin.

Although Charles had entered into the spirit of the plot through the influence of his mother, when the time arrived it was with difficulty that she wrought upon his mind to bring him to a decision for giving the signal; and even when he heard the sound of the bell that was the watch-word for beginning the dreadful act, he was seized with new remorse, which was increased by the report of some pistol-shots in the street. Overcome with emotion, it is said he sent instantly to command the leaders not to put the design into execution till further orders, but it was too late.

The work was already begun, and the messengers brought back word that the people had become furious, and could no longer be restrained from exercising their vengeance.

While this massacre was going on in Paris similar preparations had been made throughout the kingdom in all the principal towns and cities, and everywhere the Huguenots fell victims to this inhuman and treacherous plot.

In Paris the venerable Coligny was the first sacrifice, when assassination followed, until, as history relates, 500 noblemen and 6,000 other Protestants were put to death in Paris alone.

The slaughter throughout the kingdom has been given by some historians at 30,000; while Sully says over 70,000 were put to death before this inhuman order was revoked.

In many instances the perpetrators of these fiendish acts

were not satisfied with taking the life of the Huguenots, but inflicted upon their bodies barbarous acts of mutilation.

The body of Coligny, when mortally wounded, was thrown from the window of his bed-chamber into the street, where the Duke of Guise and his friends severed the head from the body, and after dragging his mutilated form through the street his head was carried to Catherine de Medici; after this the hands were cut off, leaving the disfigured remains upon a dunghill, which were finally placed upon a gibbet and roasted without being consumed.

In this condition, it is reported, the king and several of his court went to survey it; and, as the corpse had become exceedingly offensive, Charles, imitating the sentiment attributed to Vitellius, remarked, "*The body of a dead enemy always smells well.*" The remains of Coligny were, after all these indignities, taken down privately from the gibbet on a very dark night by order of the Marechal de Montmorency, and interred, with the utmost privacy, in the chapel of the castle of Chantilli.

Henry, King of Navarre, and his cousin, the Prince of Conde, were exempted from this carnage, though not without a violent debate among the instigators of the scheme. Charles, having ordered them both into his presence, commanded them, with menaces, to abjure their religion on pain of instant death.

The King of Navarre obeyed, but the Prince of Conde, more firm, obstinately refused to renounce his religious principles; but, on the threats of Charles to take his life, he was terrified into submission, and wisely complied with the necessity of his situation.

There were a few other distinguished persons who escaped with their lives among the Protestants, through the special interposition of wives or friends, but otherwise the massacre was without distinction as to age or character.

Charles at first shrank from the awful responsibility of sanctioning this wholesale assassination, and thought of throwing it upon the Duke of Guise; but seeing this could not exculpate him as the chief of the government, but increase the odium of his character, he openly avowed himself as the principal perpetrator.

The king and court consoled themselves for the sacrifice of so large a number of the Huguenots with the idea that it was not possible for them, now destitute of their leaders, to rise again with any force against the government. But in this they had greatly misjudged the true character of their Protestant subjects. Instead of yielding to the wishes of the crown, they stood firmly on their defense, erected anew the standard of revolt, and, in many instances, were soon again victorious over the royal forces.

Rochelle, the stronghold of the Calvinists, shut its gates and prepared for the contest against any besieging force of their enemies. The city now became the principal theatre of civil war, which, after a long and bloody struggle by the royal forces, commanded by the Duke of Anjou, the king's brother, was abandoned, and a treaty of pacification again made with the Huguenots throughout the kingdom on the 26th of June, 1573.

This peace and abandonment of the siege of Rochelle was facilitated, no doubt, by the election of the Duke of Anjou as King of Poland, which was effected, through the influence of the French court, to please Charles IX, who had now become jealous of his brother's popularity, and desired to rid himself of his presence, that he might rule with greater independence.

The king suffered greatly in his health at this time, which has been attributed to the remorse of conscience he suffered from permitting himself to be drawn into the tragic act of St. Bartholomew.

The King of Navarre and Prince of Conde had been held as prisoners under the surveillance of the court since the massacre; but, in 1574, the latter made his escape to his Huguenot friends, then already engaged in another civil war.

The distracted state of affairs of the kingdom increased the perplexities of Charles IX, and hastened on the disease which terminated his life and reign, May 30, 1574.

During the last two years of this eventful reign the king is reported to have suffered conscientiously in contemplating the baseness of the acts that effected this massacre, and it has been asserted as a belief that, had his life been continued, he would have excluded from his presence at court all who had urged their advice in favor of that desperate scheme.

The Prince of Conde, after his escape from the imprisonment of the court, placed himself at the head of the opposition at Metz, Toul, and Verdun, on the frontiers of the kingdom, where he could with facility receive the German forces, which favored the cause of the Huguenots.

In addition to this movement on the German frontier, there was a serious division of sentiment among the principal members of the court. The Duke of Alencon was seeking to advance his interests to the detriment of the Duke of Anjou, then King of Poland, and rightful successor to the throne.

With these complications came the death of the Cardinal of Lorraine, a person who had exercised great influence in favor of the Romish church, and had opposed with unrelenting bitterness the toleration of the Protestant religion.

Such was the state of the kingdom when the King of Poland was informed of the death of his brother, Charles IX, and that he was to ascend the throne of France as Henry III. For that purpose he quitted his palace in Poland in disguise, on the night of June 18, 1574, greatly to the dissatisfaction of that people, as well as compromising his own declared purposes. After about three months' delay in mak-

ing his journey, he arrived in France early in the month of September following.

Henry III was the favorite son of Catherine de Medici, and had participated in the councils for the Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

On his return, the Duke of Guise and his mother were his chief counselors, who urged again the persecution of the Huguenots. Little, however, was accomplished; the division of sentiment among the leaders in court offered but a weak support to plans adopted.

The kingdom was divided into factions; at the head of one was the Duke of Alencon, the king's brother, while the Duke of Guise was aspiring to the throne.

For about two years after Henry III came to the throne the King of Navarre was continued a prisoner of the government, but was regarded by the king, his brother-in-law, with great confidence as a friend and adviser.

There was an honesty of purpose with the King of Navarre that found no parallel in the court of Henry III; this incurred the enmity of the Papists, and being constantly misrepresented, and his life placed in danger, he found it necessary for his safety and the protection of his principles to escape from the presence of the court, and to unite his efforts again with his Huguenot friends. This he effected in February, 1576, when he proceeded to Metz, and united with his cousin, the Prince of Conde, and his German allies.

This union, in the factious condition of the royal court, presented a formidable opposition of power, and in May following opened the way for terms of peace favorable to the Protestants.

This treaty, called the "Edict of Pacification," gave great dissatisfaction to the Romish church. The king was denounced as a weak prince, incapable of sustaining the cause of that religious body. This unfriendliness for the king arose through

the friends of the Duke of Guise in his aspirations for the throne. These friends united together in condemnation of this treaty, and formed what was known as the "Holy League," and demanded of the king a continued persecution of the heretics, in violation of the late edict of peace.

These infringements of the treaty opened again the civil war in March, 1577, which was carried on with great weakness and mismanagement on both sides, and terminated in a treaty at Bergerac, in September following. This edict included sixty-four articles, drawn up with great care, and called the "Edict of Poitiers." It made the Romish religion predominant, although it granted the Huguenots the right of public worship.

The weakness of the king, and the intrigue of Catherine de Medici, soon destroyed all confidence in any protection from the treaty at Poitiers. The kingdom was now divided in its movements by three factions: the Duke of Guise, again supported by the Holy League; the King of Navarre, supported by the Huguenots; while the king's licentious conduct offered but a weak support to the throne.

The movements of these factions were called the "War of the Three Henries." Thus factious distraction continued with alternate peace and war, till the death of the Duke of Alencon in June, 1584, left the King of Navarre presumptive heir to the throne of France.

The bitterness of the Papists against the Huguenots was now greatly intensified with the prospect that the government of the kingdom would fall into the hands of the Protestants.

The League now regarded the Duke of Guise as their hope for the succession; while Catherine de Medici sought to have the crown descend to the children of her daughter, the Duchess of Lorraine,* alleging the disqualification of the King of Navarre by reason of his religious faith.

* The Duchess of Lorraine was Claude, second daughter of Henry II and Catherine de Medici. It was her son, Marquis de Pont, that Catherine desired to place on the throne.

Henry III was not long ignorant of these devices and speculations, and the plotting of the League and the Duke of Guise for placing him in the line of succession ; nor was he ignorant of the labors of the Papists in his dominions against the legitimate succession in favor of the King of Navarre. He regarded the Duke of Guise now as the greatest obstacle in the way for restoring the peaceful rule of the kingdom in his behalf.

The position of the king at this time was such that he was under the necessity, for the preservation of his throne, and even his freedom, to enter into a treaty humiliating to himself, by granting increased power to the Duke of Guise and his favorites. This was called the "Edict of July," brought about by the exertions of Catherine de Medici on the 21st of that month, 1588.

This arrangement bore the character of pacification between the Duke and Cardinal of Guise, favored by the League and the king and his friends.

This apparent friendship was but a mockery ; it was evident that the strife still continued between the king and the party of the Guises. The Romish church still favored the Duke of Guise in opposition to the king, ridiculing his character and acts, and using their efforts to weaken his authority in the minds of his subjects.

This, under the semblance of friendship, was well known to the Guises, and was a part of their plan for supplanting the king for his lack of severity in pushing a war of extermination against the Huguenots.

Under these circumstances Henry III had but a choice of evils. To adopt the plan of the League and the Duke of Guise, he must place the power of the government in their hands, which was equivalent to an abdication of the throne. On the other hand, to retain his power as the supreme head of the kingdom, he saw no way but to remove the Duke of

Guise ; and, for this purpose, he summoned a council of his friends to deliberate upon the best course to adopt.

The result was, that, inasmuch as the influence of the Guises with the League was so great, it was not possible to bring them to a legal trial for their treasonable acts, it was necessary to take extraordinary means to relieve the government from their power. It was decided to take the life of the Duke and Cardinal of Guise by assassination, which was effected on the 22d of December, 1588.

The act here perpetrated, horrible to contemplate, was but a natural exhibition of the education and training received in a court conducted under the influence of Catherine de Medici. The deceptive edict of 21st of July, 1588, termed the *Edict of Union*, but more properly the edict of death, was the last political act of that remarkable woman. She died, January 5, 1589.

Bernard, the speaker of the State Assembly, remarking of the character of this period, said :

“ Blasphemy is the ordinary conversation of many, and adultery is their recreation ; magic employs their minds, and occupies their curiosity ; and simony is their common trade. Thus the splendor of justice is dimmed, good customs are perverted, virtue is banished, and vice placed in authority ; while rapine strides through the kingdom with an unfurled standard.”

The effect of this barbarous act of assassination produced great excitement throughout the kingdom. Instead of destroying the League and subjecting the opposition to his rule, there was a general detestation of the act by all his Papist subjects, and an increased enmity on the part of the Papal See of Rome.

The quarrel between the League, which had been led on by the Guises and Henry III, was one between the friends of the Romish church, and, for a time, liberated the Huguenots partially from Papist persecution.

Henry, Prince of Conde, had sickened and died, March 6, 1588, during the progress of this quarrel; while the King of Navarre had stood aloof and counseled, so far as his influence could effect, for peace and submission to the rightful authority of the king; and, after the tragic death of the Guises, he published his determination to join the king, if called upon to stay the continued unlawful acts of the League.

The continued opposition of the League gave the peaceful counsels of the King of Navarre great weight in the mind of Henry III, and led him to seek terms of reconciliation with him and the Huguenots for his continuance upon the throne. The union of Henry III and Henry, King of Navarre, was consummated by a treaty effected by Duplessis Mornay, concluded, April 3, 1589, when, by an arrangement, the two kings, met and embraced, April 30, following. Thus, by this union, the military forces of Henry of Navarre were now united with the royal army of France in support of the supremacy of the crown against Papal faction, controlled by the League and Romish church.

The Pope, in exercising his influence against the king, excommunicated him from the Papal church; the ecclesiastics redoubled their efforts to inflame the prejudices of the Papists against the king; while the united forces of the crown and Prince of Navarre were now pressing forward to besiege Paris, and to take possession and expel the League, which had held possession since the famous Edict of Union, of July, 1588.

Henry III, the last of the House of Valois, while thus engaged in his attempts to possess himself of his capital and chief city, was assassinated by a young Dominican monk, named Jacques Clement, August 2, 1589. This reign was now closed, and his brother-in-law, the King of Navarre, was, by right of succession, entitled to the throne of France as Henry IV, and as first of the royal House of Bourbon.

Now was commenced a furious war, conducted by the Holy League, in support of the Papal faith, against the succession to the crown by a Protestant prince. It raged with great vigor—supported on the part of the Papists by Philip II, of Spain, who furnished troops and money with the determination of compelling Henry of Navarre to relinquish his right to the crown; and on the side of the King of Navarre substantial aid was received from several princes of Germany and the Netherlands, and also from Queen Elizabeth, who favored the Protestant cause.

It was not until the 17th of February, 1594, that Henry IV was able to solemnize the reception of the crown, which he did at the city of Chartres, amidst great rejoicing by large numbers, both Papists and Protestants.

This reception of the crown was witnessed by the Protestants not with unmixed joy. They were aware that this success was not wholly the result of the success of their faith, for the king of their choice had publicly renounced their religion, abjuring Protestantism the 25th of July, 1593, at St. Denis.

The hopes of the Protestants were, however, favorably excited; the King of Navarre having been educated in their faith, and having joined with them in fighting for the cause of toleration, they could reasonably expect from him a protector, if not a defender of their religion; nor were they wholly disappointed.

The king yielded to what he deemed the exigency of the times, and became nominally, and, perhaps truly, a Papist. He was not opposed to persecution only, but he favored toleration. He regarded the welfare of his subjects too much to be controlled by the narrow ideas of a bigot.

Henry IV gave evidence of his wisdom and tolerant ideas by granting for the protection of the religious faith of his subjects, on the 13th of April, 1598, the celebrated “Edict of Nantes.”



ALBERTUS DE VRIES

1644-1718

This was a remarkable advancement of ideas for the age in which it was published. It contained higher principles of statesmanship than were to be found anywhere else at that day.

It gave the Protestants liberty of conscience and free exercise of their religion ; free access to all places of honor and dignity ; liberal sums of money to pay off their troops ; an hundred places as pledges for their future security ; and certain funds to maintain their ministers and garrisons. This edict was declared perpetual and irrevocable.*

The religious wars that had desolated France with but little intermission for a period of over thirty years, beginning in 1562, were, by the firmness and wisdom of Henry IV, at last closed. His attention was now directed to the advancement of the foreign and domestic affairs of his kingdom, and all branches of industry, science, literature, and art, received liberal encouragement.

In 1599 he procured a divorce from his wife, Margaret, and married Mary de Medici, niece of the Grand Duke of Tuscany. This marriage secured to his kingdom several provinces on his eastern frontier, and the influence of the Italian princes. France greatly prospered under his enlightened and liberal statesmanship.

Henry IV planted the first French colonies in America, that at Port Royal, now Annapolis, in Nova Scotia, in 1605, and that of Quebec, on the St. Lawrence, in 1608—both established by eminent Huguenots. The Reformed churches now enjoyed peace, and greatly prospered. Their universities flourished, and education, the foundation of the Protestant religion, was now largely advanced. The provincial and national synods of the Huguenots were regularly convened, and were multiplied, and his subjects were generally happy under a well-regulated and impartial government.

* See Weiss' *History of French Protestant Refugees*, vol. II, p. 335.

This impartiality was not satisfactory to a selfish priesthood ; any privileges granted the Protestants were odious to them, and all such acts were treated by the Romanists as heresy against their church.

Stimulated by jealousy and bigotry, they sought for and took his life by assassination, May 14, 1610. The party who perpetrated this act was named Francis Ravaillac, supposed to have been the instrument of the Jesuits. It was but another instance of the barbarity of the times.

The position of Henry IV was peculiarly embarrassing ; opposed in some respects by all parties, and not unfrequently by the Protestants, who had received especial favor at his hands. They conceived the idea that their rights were not sufficiently respected ; while the Papists complained of his tolerance of heresy.

His private life was, in many respects, censurable ; but his public acts in managing the affairs of his government were firm and decisive ; he tempered them with justice and wisdom.

However heavy the calamity of this king's death was upon the nation at large, it fell with peculiar force upon the Huguenots. While he abjured their faith, he protected it for them.

Sully, the chief minister and counselor of Henry IV, has described his character in the following glowing language :

“ He was candid, sincere, grateful, compassionate, generous, wise, penetrating, and loved by his subjects as a father.”

His firmness in maintaining the Edict of Nantes, called the “ Edict of Peace,” is exhibited in his demeanor to his parliament in the following language, which amply shows that he was determined that established laws should be respected :

“ You see me here in my cabinet, not as the kings, my predecessors, nor as a prince who gives audience to ambassadors—but dressed in my ordinary garb as a father of a family, who would converse with his

children. I know there have been parties in the parliament, and that seditious preachers have been excited. I will put good order into these people. I will shorten by the head all such as venture to foment faction. I have leaped over the walls of cities, and I shall not be terrified by barricades. I have made an edict, let it be observed. My will must be executed, not interpreted."

This language may seem despotic; but it was adapted to the times and to the genius of his parliament.

With all his foibles, Henry IV was a great ruler, and did more for the prosperity of France than any monarch who had preceded him.

In this age of civil liberty, protected and regulated by known laws and an equal toleration of the most varied forms of religious faith, it is difficult to conceive of the true state of civil and religious affairs in the century following the era of the Reformation. The lower strata of the people was in a degraded state of servile ignorance, with their minds excited to extreme hatred against those who differed from them in their religious sentiments. The word of the Papist priesthood, in matters of faith, was to be respected as divine law, without a question as to its truth or propriety.

With the princes, nobles, and priesthood, self-aggrandizement and power was the controlling element in their actions. The relics of the feudal system were clung to by many of the nobility. Thus there were several distinct interests struggling for perpetuity and ascendancy; that of the nobles, to perpetuate their influence over their serfs; the priesthood, to sustain the claims of the church, which had become the means of a profligate support; and royalty, demanding supremacy over all.

The great mass of the people were but tools to be used as circumstances required, and their religion was the lever by which they could be most easily moved. This accounts for the tenacity with which each of these parties adhered to their religious traditions.

This was the condition of affairs, when Henry IV came to

the throne of France. Pure religious faith, as now understood in this the nineteenth century, but rarely existed ; generally it was but a pretext to advance private interests, connected with ambitious and selfish purposes.

His object was to restore order and respect for a government of law and the individual rights of all parties ; and, in attempting this radical change he did much ; but he made an almost fatal error in the terms of the Edict of Nantes, wherein he granted to the Huguenots military and political rights, operating as a power distinct from the royal head.

It is not easy to account for this permission of power, unless it be supposed that he had doubts of his success in continuing the supreme head, and that this power was placed with his former friends as a resort under contingent circumstances.

The Protestants were now a formidable power in the kingdom ; their organization was that of a representative republic in the midst of the royal government ; their religious system was vested in consistories, conferences, provincial synods, and national synods.

Each church or consistory formed a democratic council, composed of the minister, deacons, and elders. It met every week, and deliberated upon the division of funds received from its members ; it corrected offenses committed by those connected with the church, particularly those contrary to ecclesiastical discipline ; decided whether the cases came within the rule of private exhortation or public excommunication, and in case of disobedience referred them to the conference.

The conferences assembled every three months. They were composed of two deputies from each church of a certain district. There, were decided the matters which the first council could not determine ; there, were regulated the sums to be sent to Protestants persecuted for religion's sake ; there, were censured the elders, deacons, students of divinity, and ministers who had failed in their duty ; and there, were

excommunicated members of the churches deemed guilty of such punishment.

The provincial synods assembled every year. Each conference was represented by two deputies; they treated upon all the affairs of the province; they examined students who wished to be promoted to the ministry. There, they confirmed the estimates of the salaries of the pastors according to the sums received in the collections by the churches; there, they assigned to each parish its minister, and determined upon the choice of professors of theology.

The general or national synods were convoked every three years; but political circumstances often prevented them from meeting. These assemblies were composed of lay and ecclesiastical deputies from all the provinces of the kingdom. This assembly was organized by electing a president by a majority of votes. Their duties were to judge and determine all appeals from the provincial synods, to decide without appeal all questions of theology and discipline, and the decisions there rendered had the force of laws in all their churches.

In the first half of the seventeenth century there were in France 806 Protestant churches, divided into sixteen provinces and sixty-two conferences. The national synod, which was the general council of the Calvinistic church, met twenty-nine times in the space of 100 years. The first was held in 1559, in Paris, and the last at Loudun, in 1659.

The Edict of Nantes permitted these general assemblies, but upon the express condition that they should be authorized by the king. Without that authority they lost their legal character, and were reputed seditious.

Nine general assemblies were held after the edict was promulgated up to 1629; but those held in the years 1617, 1618, 1619, and particularly one held at Rochelle in 1620, were illegal and revolutionary in character, and which, as will subsequently be related, lost to the Huguenots all their political liberties given them by this edict.

CHAPTER II.

THE foregoing has shown the progress of the Calvinistic faith in France from its feeble beginnings and its struggle through persecution and civil war, until, by perseverance and the force of circumstances, it arose to a formidable power in the state, and became an extensive religious body.

The object of this chapter is to continue its history, and exhibit the causes of its degeneracy, tracing it down to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV, the 18th of October, 1685.

The first step tending to the injury of the Protestant cause in France was produced by those who assumed to be their political leaders. This was the result of the error committed by Henry IV in according to them political rights and military power.

It was the abuse of these rights and powers which lost to them the respect of many as a religious body ; and, instead of drawing to their standard such as had favored their cause, and would have joined them as a strictly religious body, this interference in matters of state induced such to withdraw their support. Yet their final destruction as such a body was by long and systematic persecution.

On the death of Henry IV, his son, a child only nine years of age, became king, as Louis XIII; his mother, *Mary de Medici*, as regent. They both, on the 22d of May, 1610, declared that the Edict of Nantes should be held inviolable.

Also, when Louis XIII became of lawful age, October 1, 1614, he confirmed his previous declaration in favor of this

edict, with the additional assurance that those who infringed it should be punished as disturbers of the public peace.

In the following year, on the 12th of March, 1615, when it was proposed in the parliament to supplicate the king for the preservation of the Romish religion, by driving out from the land under his rule all heretics denounced by that church, he declared it to be his purpose to hold the edict inviolable, and added that,

“He experienced a lively sorrow on account of the contention which had arisen among the Roman Catholic deputies of the House of Peers; that each of the deputies had declared separately, and afterwards collectively, that they desired the observance of the peace established by the edict.”

He further remarked,

“That he was persuaded by the experience of the past that violence only serves to increase the number of those who secede from the church, instead of teaching the way to re-enter it.”

And on the 20th of July, 1616, the substance of the foregoing was repeated.

Louis XIII was married, at the age of fourteen, to Anne of Austria, daughter of Philip III, of Spain, whose mother was an Austrian princess. There is ample evidence to show that this reign was commenced and continued several years with the desire to maintain in good faith the Edict of Nantes.

It is also quite clear that the great mass of the French people desired to continue the peace which was the result of the observance of the peace edict. But the political leaders among the Huguenots were professors of that faith, generally, for the advantages to be derived from the spoils of office, and made it their business to excite the masses for selfish objects; while the ultra Romish priesthood acted from similar motives.

The division of the kingdom into provincial synòds by the Protestants, originally designed to facilitate the management of their religious affairs, and for dividing their church offices,

and selecting them from different sections of the country for the purpose of harmonizing their proceedings, was perverted into a political combination co-extensive with the realm.

Each of these divisions, which were denominated provinces (there being fifteen in number), was entitled to send members to the general synod for deliberation ; but, by the terms of the edict, these general synods could be convened only by the sanction of the king, and if otherwise held, they were deemed illegal and seditious.

One of these assemblies, held at Saumur, in May, 1611, was a formidable political body—a legislative assembly of seventy deputies, divided in position as follows : thirty nobles, twenty ministers, sixteen elders, and four delegates of the city of Rochelle. In addition to the aforesaid parties, there were many other persons of distinction, who were present by invitation. All these members held their seats by election from the people of the district to which they belonged. They composed a representative republic within the limits of the kingdom, and had their army, navy, and fortified places, with garrisons.

As they increased in power they asserted rights not sanctioned by the edict by which they claimed to exist.

With a formidable organization like this, and with the religious jealousies existing between the Papists and Protestants, it was not easy to prevent collisions and riotous assemblies to disturb the peace of the kingdom.

The result was such an encroachment upon the royal government, that it compelled the king to summon to his aid the military power, in 1620, to restore order. This was the inauguration again of civil war.

Besides the illegal assemblies that the Protestants frequently held, and in face of express injunctions from the king against them, they extended their power by forming alliances with foreign governments.

It can not be denied that the Huguenots greatly injured their condition by assuming illegal powers, and by a factious interference with the royal authority, until they made themselves obnoxious to just principles of government. Such was the condition of affairs when Cardinal Richelieu was installed the first minister of the crown in 1623.

The first object of this able minister was to suppress the civil war, and to take measures for depriving the Huguenots of all political rights claimed under the Edict of Nantes; to suppress their garrisons, naval and military power, and to place the entire political, naval, and military strength of the kingdom in the crown.

The signal ability of Richelieu was manifested by the firm and decisive measures he now adopted and carried to completion.

In his religious faith he was a Romanist; but he rose above religious prejudice; his object was not to war against the Reformed religion, nor to deprive the Huguenots of protection for their faith and worship, permitted by the provisions of this edict.

The Reformed, who were styled Huguenots, he believed, had justly forfeited their political rights, under the edict, by holding irregular assemblies and by a factious interference with the royal government.

The stronghold of the Huguenots was now the city of Rochelle, which, at this time, contained a population of about 30,000 souls, supported by a powerful army and navy, aided by a numerous fleet, furnished by Charles I, of England, who had married Henrietta, sister of Louis XIII, then on the throne of France.

Richelieu, by his military operations, had reduced the armies of the Huguenots in the provinces, and had confined them to the fortified city of Rochelle, to which he laid siege with his army and navy in 1627. They were supported by many Ger-

man recruits, as well as the English fleet, then under the command of the Duke of Buckingham.

This siege continued with great vigor through a period of about fifteen months, when the population of that city was reduced to about 5,000 inhabitants, then in a state of great destitution, at which time liberal terms were proposed by the cardinal for their surrender, which having been accepted, the gates of Rochelle were thrown open, and possession taken by the royal troops, on the 30th of October, 1628.

The remaining Huguenot forces soon after yielded to the necessities of their condition, and a general treaty of peace was concluded at Alais on the 27th of June, 1629, closing the last of the series of civil wars between Papists and Calvinists which commenced under the reign of Charles IX in 1562.

The city of Rochelle, from 1568 to this time, had sustained a government independent of the crown, but was now deprived of all its separate political rights, and made entirely subject to royal authority.*

From this time the Huguenots ceased to exist as a political body in the kingdom, but retained the right of exercise of their religion as established by the Edict of Nantes. Having now no occasion for political leaders, who had constantly brought them into collision with the royal government, they were relieved from that embarrassment which, during this reign, had injured their cause, and lessened the respect which the community at large had entertained for their faith, and were left to direct their attention wholly to their religious affairs and their industrial pursuits; when at the close of the reign of Louis XIII, March 14, 1643, they were among the most enterprising, orderly, and wealthy inhabitants of France.

They were respected at home for the austerity of their morals, their industry, and their irreproachable loyalty; while they

* See Weiss' History of French Protestants, vol. i, chap. 1; also Browning's History of the Huguenots, chap. 57.

maintained great probity of character in their commercial relations abroad.

The tendency of their religious faith led to the promotion of education as a principle; thus they became superior in science, literature, and the arts, which caused them to be watched with a jealous eye by their Romanist opponents.

Such was the state of political and religious affairs in France when Louis XIV, a child of five years of age, became king in 1643. His mother, Anne of Austria, became regent, and the death of Cardinal Richelieu taking place, December 4, 1642, his assistant minister, Cardinal Mazarin, succeeded to his high position.

After the treaty at Alais in 1629, through the remaining premiership of Cardinal Richelieu, and to the death of Cardinal Mazarin in 1661, the toleration of the Calvinistic faith was all that could reasonably be expected from the manner they conducted themselves towards the Papists.

In the provinces, where either party had any considerable ascendancy over the other in character and numbers, there were frequent collisions that at times required the interposition of the civil government, and sometimes military power, to maintain peace and order.

But so far as loyalty to the government was concerned, the words of Cardinal Mazarin give ample evidence in their favor in that respect. It has been said that during the civil war in that kingdom, extending from 1648 to 1653 (called the "War of the *Fronde*"), "had it not been for the loyalty of the Huguenots and their support of the crown,* there would have been danger of a disruption of the royal government." It appears the Protestants were amply protected by Mazarin; but yet it is evident that they did not increase in numbers during this period of uninterrupted protection and peace, from 1629 to

* See Burnet's history of his own times, alluding to Cromwell's sending an agent (Stroupe) to ascertain the loyalty of the Huguenots, book I, edition 1850, pp. 47-50.

1660, when Louis XIV took the reins of government into his own hands.

This state of their condition as to increase of numbers is explained by the fact that nearly all the nobility and politicians, who had united with them while they maintained their political rights, now renounced Calvinism and united their fortunes with the Romish church to reap the advantages of royal patronage, as such favors were rarely granted to Protestants.

Thus, when Louis XIV made his *will* the law of France, there had been a period of over thirty years, ending in 1660, when the Protestants shared protection by the royal government the same as the Papists, if they did not receive equal favors.

But, from this time, their condition changed, and it soon became evident that the king had come to the determination that all his subjects should bow as imperatively to one faith and one church as they now did to one head in civil law. In other words, the Romish church should rule in all matters of faith as his will ruled in civil affairs.

Louis XIV's ideas in this respect are indicated in his remarks to his son in 1670 :

“ I believe, my son, that the best method of reducing the Huguenots of my kingdom is by moderation. In the first place not to harass them in the smallest degree by any new enactments against them, to observe strictly all privileges obtained by them from my predecessors, but to grant them no more, and of these to restrict the execution within the narrowest limits prescribed by justice and comity.

“ But, as regards graces, depending on myself alone, I resolved, and that resolution I have punctually observed, to grant them none whatever; and this from a spirit of amity rather than rigor, so as to compel them, without any violence, to consider within themselves whether it is for any good reason that they voluntarily deprive themselves of advantages which was in their power to share with the remainder of my subjects.

“ I also resolved to bring over, even by means of recompenses, such as should show themselves docile; and to awaken as far as possible the zeal of the bishops, that they should labor to give them instruction and to remove the scandals which at times divide and repel them from us.

The foregoing scheme for proselytism shows the anxiety of the king's mind regarding the faith of the Huguenots. While the royal government was restricting their privileges to the narrowest limits, the priesthood were excited to exercise the extent of their ability in that direction.

In order to secure converts against any relapse into their former faith, an edict was passed establishing severe penalties to be inflicted upon such as had renounced Protestantism and again returned to that heresy, as it was called; one of these penalties was perpetual banishment from the kingdom.

The Protestant ministers were forbidden to expostulate with or exhort their converted brethren upon the maintenance of their faith, and the presence of such as had been converted to Romanism at their meetings was sufficient cause for closing their house of worship and dispersing their congregation.

This edict opened the way for great injury to the Protestant churches, as any designing Papist could, by pretense, appear in a Protestant congregation with a view to its dispersion; thus the number of their churches rapidly decreased, and their meeting-houses were razed to the ground.

All former decisions of courts that infringed upon the religious privileges of the Huguenots were revived and formed into a special code of law. These accumulated movements gave great alarm to this people. They began to apprehend from the edicts of 1666 a determination of the king for their entire ruin as a religious body.

This feeling induced many of their ministers, whose congregations had been thus dispersed, to abandon their country with many of their religious friends of this class; some found homes in the Netherlands, others in England, and many sought peace within the jurisdiction of the rising English colonies in America.

When it was perceived by the king and court that these oppressive acts were depopulating many provinces of the

kingdom, an edict was published in 1669, making it a penal offense for any Protestant who should be found attempting to leave the country.

The Edict of Nantes had now existed over seventy years, and there were not the reasons for suppressing the religious privileges granted to the Protestants by this tolerant act that were claimed and used for annulling the political rights which the edict had conferred upon them.

Louis XIV, as well as his chief ministers, both Cardinal Mazarin and Colbert, had, at different times, borne testimony of their peaceable demeanor, their intelligence and industrious habits. Thus it was neither the welfare of his subjects nor the advancement of his kingdom that was consulted in enforcing these severe measures against this class of his people, but the interposition of an unscrupulous priesthood and his own bigoted zeal, inflamed by his mistress,* De Maintenon, and his chief adviser, Francis de la Chaise.†

Various edicts followed each other in quick succession; each depriving the Huguenots of some privileges formerly enjoyed, and which were still permitted to those of the Romish faith; all calculated to make the weak and unscrupulous among the Reformed renounce for some special favor which otherwise was denied them.

The learned professions, as also mechanical trades, were excluded from the Huguenots, and those who were skilled in the mechanic arts were forbidden to receive apprentices under their charge. The edict of 1666 forbid taxing themselves for the support of their ministers.

* This mistress was the widow of Paul Scarron, a deformed comic poet, whose maiden name was Frances d'Aubigny. She was introduced into the king's presence by Madame de Montespan, a former mistress, as an instructress and governess of her children by the king, whom she supplanted in his affections and received the title of Madame de Maintenon.

† Pere la Chaise, a French Jesuit, thirty-four years confessor of Louis XIV, born, August 25, 1624; died, January 20, 1709. He promoted the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes; the king built for him a country-seat, called "Mount Louis." Its gardens are now the cemetery Pere la Chaise, in Paris.

These arbitrary acts of intolerance appear the more surprising and wicked when it is considered that for a long period the Protestant religion had been sanctioned, and its right of worship guaranteed by law ; and that during the two preceding reigns, and a period of seventeen years of the present reign, from 1643 to 1660, these guarantees had been respected ; and, furthermore, there was no pretense that this religious sect were making any improper encroachment upon the Romanists, or infringing upon any legal rights which they did not possess.

The objection was that they were Protestants, and stood firm by their faith ; this was the offense for which they were, by arbitrary edicts, to be treated as criminals.

As early as 1670 there is ample evidence to show that the design was to force the Protestants to renounce their faith, and return to the Papal church.

To effect this, rigorous means were to be urged, until this renouncement was complete, when the edict would be of no further use, and be revoked as an obsolete law.

At this time the Protestants of France were a numerous and systematical religious body ; they had not only their religious organizations, but extensively organized literary and scientific institutions, not inferior to any others in the kingdom ; and these were liberally endowed with funds for their maintenance, and had at their head men of the highest literary and scientific attainments in that country.

Louis XIV* had now for ten years, from 1660 to 1670, made his will the supreme law of his dominions, and his prime minister, Colbert, had, by his wisdom and prudence in the management of the finances of the kingdom, added greatly to its prosperity.

* Louis XIV, born, September 16, 1638, king in 1643, under the regency of his mother, Anne of Austria, declared of age 1651, and married Maria Theresa, daughter of Philip IV, of Spain, 1660. His minister, the successor of Richelieu, died 1661. His independent career now began. His next ten years exhibited statesmanship ; but thenceforth he became a slave to intemperate zeal and injudicious advisers ; he died in 1715.

This date may be taken as the culminating point in the reign of Louis XIV; he was generally respected abroad as well as by his own subjects; but the influence of Colbert, and his prudent measures, were no longer regarded; there was now an ostentatious display of power. Hitherto war had been waged mainly for political ends and the redress of apparent wrongs against the state; but now, instead of the wise counsels of Colbert, there came prominently upon the stage, for war minister, Louvois (Francis Michael le Tellier), who began his political life in 1667; and Madame de Maintenon, daughter of Constant d'Aubigny, and granddaughter of the celebrated Theodore Agrippa d'Aubigny, born, November 27, 1635; married, in 1652, at the age of seventeen, Scarron, "a paralytic cripple, who, with his deformity, was popular and witty, and drew to his house the wisest and best, as well as the profligate and lovers of pleasure."

In her early youth she was trained a Protestant; but, being educated in a school controlled by Papists, she was led to renounce her former faith and become a Catholic.

From the period of 1670 the policy of the government, politically and in a religious point of view, was mainly directed to the support of the Romish church and the suppression of Protestantism.

Louvois was an aspirant for popularity with the king, and was not insensible to his weak points—his libertinism, bigotry, and fondness for pomp and show. Thus his abilities were directed to taking advantage of these characteristics for his own advancement, and being selected as chief war minister, his influence sacrificed the best interests of the kingdom, reducing its character from the high elevation it had attained by the wise counsels of Colbert to a condition of general disrespect among the other governments of Europe.

To the counsels of Louvois were added those of Madame de Maintenon and the king's confessor, Pere la Chaise; the

former a prude and bigot, seeking the favors of Louis XIV by her formal and straight-laced manner, until she effected her aspiration of becoming Queen of France, as his wife, but in disguise ; while the latter, a loyal Jesuit, alive to the advancement of that order of the Romish church, hesitated at no means for making a sacrifice of all heretics that would not renounce and return to the Papal fold.

Such were the counselors who directed the mind of Louis XIV, in its weakness, to make a sacrifice of his Protestant subjects. The seven provinces of the Netherlands, designated as the kingdom of Holland at this time, which had successfully withstood and maintained their liberty against all the power of Spain, were now the refuge of vast numbers of the persecuted Protestants of France, taking with them much capital, as well as many skilled artisans, depopulating many districts in that kingdom, and thereby greatly injuring its trade, commerce, and manufactures.

This was a source of annoyance to Louis XIV, and a good pretext with the wily Louvois for encouraging a war for their subjugation. Belgium had already been overrun, and the Palatinate had been made desolate by fire and sword.

This war (as also that of 1667) terminated in 1674 without effecting its object. Holland continued the asylum of the oppressed through the patriotic efforts of William, Prince of Orange, sustained by the unconquerable love of liberty of its inhabitants, which, through all past ages, has characterized that people.

The wickedness of this war was only equaled by the religious madness that raged throughout the kingdom.

Holland had strictly observed its obligations with Louis XIV and his subjects ; while the Huguenots had, since the treaty of Alais, continued loyal, peaceable, and industrious inhabitants.

The determination of the king and the trio of advisers

before referred to continued their persecutions with increased zeal. Extraordinary means were taken to induce Protestants to renounce their faith; rewards in money, as well as places of emolument, were freely offered; while acts were established with severe penalties for those who had renounced, and afterwards, on mature reflection, should return to their former faith, the Reformed religion.

Those guilty of relapsing from Romanism to the Protestant faith were condemned to the galleys for life, and all Protestant ministers who permitted a relapsed convert to enter their temples should be condemned to banishment, and their goods confiscated.

In 1680 an edict was established, maintaining that a meeting-house for Protestant worship could not be permitted in the vicinity of a Romish church, without scandal to that faith; thus all such Protestant meeting-houses were ordered to be razed to the ground, and not suffered to be rebuilt.

To show the unjust partiality of the edicts, it was declared meritorious for a Protestant to renounce; and, furthermore, children of Protestant parents were, in 1681, permitted, at the age of seven years, to embrace the Romish faith, and even encouraged to do so, and the fathers and mothers of such children were forbid offering any interference.

The proof of desire on the part of children to embrace the Romish faith was most trivial. It was in the power of any Papist to take from a Protestant family their children under this law, by asserting that such children had manifested a desire to join with a Romish church, that they had united in prayer, or made the sign of the cross. In either case the children were taken from their parents' home, who, besides the loss of them, were compelled to pay for their support by a fixed pension in proportion to their means; and these estimates of expense were arbitrarily fixed, which frequently proved the ruin of their estates as well as their families.

Their synods were prohibited from receiving either legacies or donations for the support of their institutions; and all Protestant books that impugned in any way the Romish faith, or the measures designed for the overthrow of the Reformed religion, were condemned to be burned; and parties were commissioned by the royal government to search them out, that they might be destroyed. Finally, all theological books, papers, and other publications that favored Protestantism were ordered to be destroyed, and other like works were not permitted to be printed.

Their theological and literary institutions were, many of them, now closed, and the few that remained had their professorships limited, and their studies restricted within narrow range.

These rigid measures against Protestant institutions of learning and their books were designed, not only to suppress their religion, but to efface among them that superiority of literary culture which they possessed, and which inspired their opponents with much jealousy.

Thus oppression came in every possible way to induce the Reformed to renounce their faith. Those engaged in military affairs were refused promotion; pensions were withdrawn; their widows were declared deprived of all their privileges so long as they professed the Reformed religion.

Protestants were deprived of their nobility, and made liable to taxation; notaries and attorneys were ordered to sell their licenses; advocates were forbidden to plead, and physicians to exercise their profession; the same disability extended to midwives, and even seamstresses could not be employed who professed the Reformed faith.

Louis XIV, at this time, had lost much of his physical vigor by his ungovernable licentiousness. His confessor, Pere la Chaise, seized this opportunity to impress upon his mind the great sinfulness of his past life, and the impor-

tance of exercising his great power and influence in favor of the Romish church, which was then set forth as the embodiment of all pure religion. His bigoted ideas of this faith made him an easy prey to the proselyting schemes of his Jesuit confessor and his new flame, the sanctimonious Madame de Maintenon.

The suppression of the Protestant religion within his kingdom was set forth, not only as a duty, but as the highest claim to his future salvation, tending to his peace of mind here and hereafter.

His new favorite, Madame de Maintenon, in his councils of state, secured a position with him even to the exclusion of the queen.

To such a degree did this aspiring and artful woman exercise her influence over the king, that even his confessor, Pere la Chaise, could find access to him only through her favors.

She undertook to assist the confessor in effecting the king's conversion, and, as stated, labored with him four hours daily. She discovered his weakness, and his desire to convert his Huguenot subjects to the Romish church. Her manners peculiarly fitted her, as an instrument in the hands of the confessor, to work out the ruin of his Protestant subjects. She now became his chief adviser in both civil and religious affairs. Her zeal daily increased her influence, and thus she was enabled to fan the flame of prejudice then raging against the Protestants.

While the labors of the confessor and De Maintenon were in progress, buying the faith of the Huguenots, and otherwise forcing them to renounce, the minister of war, not to be outdone in promoting the desires of his king in acts for the conversion of the Reformed to Papacy, proposed the quartering of soldiers upon the families of Protestants in the districts where they most prevailed, proportioning the number according to their ability.

The effect of this barbarous act at first caused large numbers of the Reformed to renounce, as this course seemed to be the only means of saving themselves and families from destitution and poverty. Great rejoicing was created with the king, his court, and the Papists, by the power of the soldiery in producing conversions among the Protestants, when it was determined to extend this method of proselytism to all the districts in the kingdom where their religion prevailed.

The scenes of cruelty perpetrated by the soldiers in the families in which they were quartered can not adequately be described. The success of this measure finally led to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which was framed, and signed by the king, at Fontainebleau, on the 18th of October, 1685.

Madame de Maintenon thus writes a few days after the edict of revocation :

“The king is very well pleased at having completed the great work of bringing the heretics back to the church. Father la Chaise has promised that it shall not cost one drop of blood, and M. de Louvois says the same. I am glad those of Paris have been brought to reason.”

“I think, with you, that all these conversions are not sincere, but, at least, their children will be Catholics.”

Another friend of this wicked method of compelling submission to Papacy, observes :

“I admire the king’s plan for *ruining* the Huguenots (*a far more appropriate term than conversion*). The wars carried on formerly against them, and the St. Bartholomew Massacre, have multiplied and given vigor to this sect. His majesty has gradually undermined it, and the edict he has just given, supported by dragoons, has been the *coup de grace*.”

The measures adopted by Louis XIV, compelling his Protestant subjects to renounce their faith and return to the worship of Romanism, can only be regarded as a religious mania, the result of an infatuated mind.

The effect was to drive from his kingdom large numbers of

the purest and wisest of this class of his subjects, and to destroy the usefulness of those who remained at home; because, in many instances, their property had, by this process, been exhausted, and they were without the means of escape.

Those compelled to remain his subjects became a disheartened people by their great sacrifice, and the severity of treatment they had received in many instances were destructive of their physical vigor. The effect of these measures is given by Bishop Burnet, in his history of his own time, as follows :

“And since I saw that dismal tragedy, which was at this time enacted in France, I must give some account of myself. When I resolved to go beyond sea, there was no choice to be made. So I resolved to go to France. I went to Paris. And there being many there whom I had reason to look upon as spies, I took a little house and lived by myself, as privately as I could. I continued there till the beginning of August, when I went to Italy. I found the Earl of Montague at Paris, with whom I conversed much, and got from him most of the secrets of the court.

“The King of France had been for many years weakening the whole Protestant interest there, and was then upon the last resolution of recalling the Edict of Nantes.

“Rouvigny, who was the deputy-general of the churches, told me that he was long deceived in his opinion of the king. He knew he was not naturally bloody. He saw his gross ignorance in those matters. His bigotry could not rise from any inward principle. So for many years he flattered himself with the hopes that the design would go on so slowly that some unlooked-for accident might defeat it. But after the peace of Nimeguen in 1678, he saw such steps made, with so much precipitation, that he told the king that he must beg a full audience with him upon that subject. He told him what the state of France was during the wars in his father’s reign; how happy France had been now for fifty years, occasioned chiefly by the quiet it was in with relation to religious matters.

“He gave him an account of their numbers, their industry and wealth, their constant readiness to advance the revenues, and that all the quiet that he had with the court of Rome was chiefly owing to them; if they were rooted out, the court of Rome would govern as absolutely in France as it did in Spain.

“He desired leave to undeceive him, if he was made to believe they would all change as soon as he engaged his authority in this matter; many would go out of the kingdom, and carry their wealth and industry

into other countries. And by a scheme of particulars he reckoned how far that would go. In fine, he said it would come to the shedding of much blood; many would suffer, and others would be precipitated into desperate courses. So that the most glorious of all reigns would be in conclusion disfigured and defaced, and become a scene of blood and horror. He told me, as he went through these matters, the king seemed to hearken to him very attentively. But he perceived they made no impression; for the king never asked any particulars or any explanation, but let him go on. And when he had ended, the king said he took his freedom well, since it flowed from a zeal in his service. He believed all he had told him of the prejudice it might do him in his affairs; only he thought it would not go to the shedding of blood. But he said, he considered himself as so indispensably bound to endeavor the conversion of all his subjects, and the extirpation of heresy, that if the doing of it should require that with one hand he should cut off the other, he would submit to that.

“The Marquis de Louvois, seeing the king so set on the matter, proposed to him a method which he believed would shorten the work, and do it effectually; which was to let loose some bodies of dragoons to live on the Protestants on discretion. They were put under no restraint, but only to avoid rapes and the killing them. This was begun in Bearn. And the people were so struck with it, that, seeing that they were to be eat up first, and, if that prevailed not, to be cast in prison when all was taken from them, till they should change; and being required only to promise to reunite themselves to the church, they, overcome with fear, and having no time to consult together, did universally comply.

“This did so animate the court, that, upon it, the same methods were taken in most places of Guyenne, Languedoc, and Dauphine, where the greatest numbers of the Protestants were.

“A dismal consternation and feebleness ran through most of them, so that great numbers yielded. Upon which the king now resolved to go through with what had been long projected, published the edict, repealing the Edict of Nantes, in which (though that edict was declared to be a perpetual and irrevocable law), he set forth that it was only intended to quiet matters by it, till more effectual ways should be taken for the conversion of heretics. He also promised in it that though all the public exercises of that religion were now suppressed, yet those of that persuasion who lived quietly should not be disturbed on that account; while, at the same time, not only the dragoons, but all the clergy and bigots of France, broke out into all the instances of rage and fury against such as did not change upon their being required in the king's name to be of his religion; for that was the style everywhere.

“Men and women of all ages who would not yield, were not only stripped of all they had, but kept long from sleep, driven about from

place to place, and hunted out of their retirements. The women were carried into nunneries, in many of which they were almost starved, whipped, and barbarously treated.

“Some few of the bishops and of the secular clergy, to make the matter easier, drew formularies importing that they were resolved to unite themselves to the Catholic church, and that they renounced the errors of Luther and Calvin. People in such extremities are easy to put a stretched sense on any words that may give them present relief. So it was said, what harm was it to promise to be united to the Catholic church? and the renouncing of men’s errors did not renounce their good and sound doctrine. But it was very visible with what intent those subscriptions or promises were asked of them; so their compliance in that matter was a plain equivocation.

“But how weak and faulty soever they might be in this, it must be acknowledged here was one of the most violent persecutions that is to be found in history. In many respects it exceeded them all, both in the several inventions of cruelty and in its long continuance.

“I went over the greatest part of France, while it was in its hottest rage, from Marseilles to Montpellier, and from thence to Lyons, and so to Geneva. I saw and knew so many instances of their injustice and violence that it exceeded even what could have been well imagined; for all men set their thoughts at work to invent new methods of cruelty. In all the towns which I passed I heard the most dismal account of things possible, but chiefly at Valence, where one Derapine seemed to exceed even the furies of inquisitors.

“One in the streets could have known the new converts as they were passing by them, by a cloudy dejection that appeared in their looks and deportment. Such as endeavored to make their escape, and were seized (for guards and secret agents were spread along the whole roads and frontiers of France), were, if men, condemned to the galleys; and, if women, to monasteries.

“To complete this cruelty orders were given that such of the new converts as did not at their death receive the sacrament, should be denied burial, and their bodies should be left where other dead carcasses were cast out, to be devoured by wolves and dogs. This was executed in several places with the utmost barbarity, and it gave all people so much horror that, finding the ill effect of it, it was let fall. This hurt none, but struck all who saw it even with more horror than those things that were more felt.

“The fury that appeared on this occasion did spread itself with a sort of contagion; for the intendants and other officers that had been mild and gentle in the former parts of their life, seemed now to have laid aside the compassion of Christians, the breeding of gentlemen, and the common impressions of humanity. The greatest part of the clergy, the

regulars especially, were so transported with the zeal that their king showed on this occasion, that their sermons were full of the most inflamed eloquence that they could invent, magnifying their king in strains too indecent and blasphemous to be mentioned by me.”*

Those extraordinary efforts made by Louis XIV to compel whole communities of his subjects to renounce their religious faith by inflicting upon them a series of cruelties which, for their severity, are scarcely equaled in the history of any age, have been related by so many able writers, it is not necessary here to repeat them, but to close this sketch of history by some additional quotations, emanating from other well-known writers.

Saurin, a son of one of the Protestant refugees, and a celebrated preacher at the Hague, gives a further illustration of those acts of violence :

“ A thousand dreadful blows,” said the preacher, “ were struck at our afflicted churches before that which destroyed them ; for our enemies, if I may use the expression, not content with seeing our ruin, endeavored to taste it.

“ One while edicts were published against those who, foreseeing the calamities that threatened our churches, and not having power to prevent them, desired only the sad consolation of not being spectators of their ruin. Another while, August, 1669, against those who, through their weakness, had denied their religion, and who, not being able to bear the remorse of their conscience, desired to return to their first profession.

“ One while, May, 1679, our pastors were forbidden to exercise their discipline on those of their flocks who had abjured the truth. Again, June, 1680, children of seven years of age were allowed to embrace doctrines which the Church of Rome allows are not level to the capacities of adults. Sometimes we were forbidden to convert infidels, and sometimes to confirm those in the truth whom we had instructed from their infancy. In July, 1685, the printing of our books were prohibited, and those which we had printed were taken away.

“ In September, 1685, we were not suffered to preach in a church, and we were punished for preaching even on the ruins of a church ; and at length we were forbidden to worship God in public at all. Again, in

* See Bishop Burnett's history of his own time, new edition ; published in London, A. D., 1850, pp. 419, 421-422.

October, 1685, we were banished; then, in 1689, we were forbidden to quit the kingdom on pain of death.

“Here, we saw the glorious rewards of some who betrayed their religion; and there, we beheld others, who had the courage to confess it, a hailing to a dungeon, a scaffold, or a galley. Here, we saw our persecutors drawing on a sledge the dead bodies of those who had expired on the rack. There, we beheld a false friar tormenting a dying man, who was terrified, on the one hand, with the fear of hell, if he should apostatize; and, on the other, with the fear of leaving his children without bread, if he should continue in the faith; yonder, they were tearing children from their parents; while the tender parents were shedding more tears for the loss of their souls than for that of their bodies or lives.*

In referring to these tragic acts, Mr. Bancroft remarks:

“The extremity of danger inspired even the wavering with courage. What though they were exposed without defense to the fury of an unbri-dled soldiery, whom hatred of heretics had steeled against humanity? Property was exposed to plunder; religious books were burned; children torn from their parents; faithful ministers, who would not abandon their flocks, broken on the wheel. Men were dragged to the altars to be tortured into a denial of the faith of their fathers, and a relapse was punished with extreme rigor.

“The approach of death removes the fear of persecution; bigotry invented a new terror; the mean-spirited, who changed their religion, were endowed by law with the entire property of the family. The dying father was made to choose between wronging his conscience by apostasy, and beggaring his offspring by fidelity. All children were ordered to be taken away from Protestant parents; but that law it was impossible to enforce; nature will assert her rights.

“It became a study to invent torments, dolorous but not mortal; to inflict all the pain the human body could endure and not die. What need of recounting the horrid enormities committed by troops whose commanders had been ordered to use the utmost rigor towards those who would not adopt the creed of the king? To push to an extremity the vain-glorious fools who would delay their conversion to the last?

“What need of describing the stripes, the roasting by slow fires, the plunging into wells, the gashing with knives, the wounds from red-hot pincers, and all the cruelties employed by men who were only forbidden not to ravish nor kill? The loss of lives can not be computed. How many thousands of men, how many thousands of women and children

* See vol. II, 3d series Mass. Hist. Collections, pp. 22-26 inclusive, part of Dr. Holmes' Memoirs of the French Protestants who settled at Oxford, Massachusetts, A. D., 1686.

perished in the attempt to escape, who can tell? An historian has asserted that 10,000 perished at the stake, or on the gibbet and the wheel.

“But the efforts of tyranny were powerless. Truth enjoys serenely her own immortality; and opinion, which always yields to a clearer conviction, laughs violence to scorn.

“The unparalleled persecutions of vast masses of men for their religious creed occasioned but a new display of the power of humanity; the Calvinists preserved their faith over the ashes of their churches and the bodies of their murdered ministers.

“The power of the brutal soldiery was defied by whole companies of faithful men that still assembled to sing their psalms, and from the country and the city, from the comfortable homes of the wealthy merchants, from the abodes of an humble peasantry, from the workshops of artisans, hundreds of thousands of men rose up as with one heart to bear testimony to the indefeasible, irresistible right to freedom of mind.”*

The vast numbers of these persecuted people who escaped from France during the civil wars and the reign of Louis XIV have been differently estimated; those who fled their country in the few years immediately preceding the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and about the time this act became the law of the country, have been computed at 800,000 souls.

Soon after the death of Mazarin, March 9, 1661, which left the king unembarrassed and free to exercise his own will in the affairs of government, it soon became evident that a destruction of the Protestants was contemplated, and with this view many of the better informed of that class of religionists began to make provision for their escape to other countries.

In this early period of persecution by Louis XIV the authorities of Massachusetts were applied to for relief in this respect.

“John Touton, a French doctor, and an inhabitant of the city of Rochelle, in behalf of himself and other Protestants expelled from their habitations on account of their religion, applied as above, in 1662, that they might have liberty to inhabit there,”

which was readily granted to them.†

* See Bancroft's History of the United States, vol. II, pp. 178-179.

† See Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, 3d edition, vol. I, p. 206.

What settlements may have been made in Massachusetts at this time by French Protestants does not appear; but there is abundant evidence of the fact that colonies of this class of people were established about this time in New York, which will be noticed more particularly in another part of this sketch.*

These emigrations were the most extensive to Switzerland, Germany, and the Netherlands, but to the latter more particularly to those seven provinces which had secured their independence of the Spanish crown, and at this time generally designated as Holland; while very large numbers fled to Protestant England, to whom Hume refers in his history :

“Louis XIV, having long harassed and molested the Protestants, at last revoked entirely the Edict of Nantes, which had been enacted by Henry IV, for securing them the free exercise of their religion, which had been declared irrevocable, and which, during the experience of near a century (from 1598 to 1685), had been attended with no sensible inconvenience.

“All the iniquities inseparable from persecution were exercised against those unhappy religionists, who became obstinate in proportion to the oppressions which they suffered, and either covered under a feigned conversion a more violent abhorrence of the Catholic communion, or sought among foreign nations for that liberty of which they were bereaved in their native country.

“Above half a million of the most useful and industrious subjects deserted France, and exported, together with immense sums of money, those arts and manufactures which had chiefly tended to enrich that kingdom. They propagated everywhere the most tragical accounts of the tyranny exercised against them, and revived among the Protestants all that resentment against the bloody and persecuting spirit of Popery to which so many incidents in all ages had given too much foundation.

“Near fifty thousand refugees passed over into England; and all men were disposed, from their representations, to entertain the utmost horror against the projects which they apprehended to be formed by the king (James II) for the abolition of the Protestant religion.”†

* See Brodhead's History of New York, pp. 730-734, referring to the French settlements in the city and at Staten Island, in the colony of New York, 1664.

† See Hume's England, vol. II, pp. 263 and 264.

The tendencies of Charles I, Charles II, and James II, of England, were in favor of the Romish church, as favoring the power of the crown, while the two latter were tools of Louis XIV; but the succession of the Prince of Orange, who had married Mary, eldest daughter of James, Duke of York, as William III, closing the short and inglorious reign of James II, brought the crown into unison with the Protestants; while Holland was strengthened against the efforts to crush her by French Papacy.*

Great credit is due to the exiled Huguenots of France for the aid they rendered in driving from the throne of England James II, and establishing the Revolution of 1688. Like the Puritans of England who exhibited their heroism in defense of the Parliament, under John Hampden, and subsequently Cromwell at the battle of Marston Moor, July 3, 1644, and at Naseby, the 14th of June, 1645, in favor of civil liberty and religious freedom, whole regiments of these Huguenots,† inspired by like principles, followed the Prince of Orange into England, and fought for a similar cause. The celebrated battle of the Boyne, on the 1st of July, 1690, achieved by their aid, will always remain a testimony in favor of their bravery and devotion to freedom of conscience and religious toleration.

The English colonies in America, from their commencement, received large accessions to their numbers from these exiled Huguenots.

For the further credit of the Huguenots it is proper here to state that the French Calvinists were the first to attempt to plant colonies within what is now the territory of the United States.

As early as the 18th of February, 1562, two ships left

* See Bancroft, vol. II, pp. 416, 446, 447, 462, and 468.

† Same, vol. II, page 180.

France with Huguenot colonists, under command of Captain John Ribault, and arrived on the coast of what was then known as Florida, in May following, where they came to a river, which they named the *River May*, because they discovered it on the first day of that month. This river is now known as the *St. John's*, but was called the "*San Matheo*" by the Spaniards. In further sailing along that coast north-erly they discovered other rivers which were named as follows: The Loire, the *Altamaha*; Charante, the *Newport*; Garonne, the *Ogeechee*; Gironde, the *Savannah*; Bellevoir, the *May*, in South Carolina; Grande, now the *Broad*; Jordan, the *Combahee*; Port Royal is now *Port Royal*. Captain Ribault finally determined upon a place to build a fort, and to plant a colony. This location was on the island in the bay of Port Royal, where is now the town of Beaufort. The fort erected here was named "Charles Fort," in honor of Charles IX, who, at the suggestion of Gaspard de Coligny, Admiral of France, permitted this expedition to be sent out, and, as designed by the admiral, to be a colony of refuge for the Huguenots.

Having provided an armament for this fort, and provisions and clothing for the men who were to remain, the same was placed in charge of Captain Albert, until relieved by additional colonists from France.

Captain Ribault, having completed these arrangements, resolved to depart for France, where he arrived, on July 12, 1562. At this time civil war was again raging in the kingdom, which prevented the succor promised by Captain Ribault when he sailed from Fort Charles.

When peace was again restored, which was soon after the assassination of Francis, second Duke of Guise, Admiral Coligny urged a second expedition, under the command of Captain Rene Laudonniere, with three ships freighted with colonists for planting another colony.

The colonists who had been left at Fort Charles in 1562

received marked acts of respect and kindness from all the neighboring nations and tribes of natives. The long delay of the receipt of the promised supplies left them in a destitute condition, when they were compelled by their necessities to beg provisions for their subsistence of the different tribes of Indians, which were very cheerfully granted to them for small trifles given in payment.

Their patience becoming exhausted, and anxious to return to their native homes, they employed themselves in building a vessel to transport their colony to France. Having finished their ship, and rigged it with cordage* furnished them by the natives, and received from them corn and beans, and such provisions as their scanty means could supply, they embarked, and finally reached France in a state of starvation, many having died on the passage.

The second expedition embarked at New Haven, France, the 22d of April, 1564, and arrived on the coast of Florida, June 22 following, and on the 25th landed at the mouth of the river May, now St. John's. They soon proceeded up that river to a place now called "St. John's Bluff," and built a fort, which they named "Fort Caroline," the outlines of which are yet traceable. The time of building this fort by the French Huguenots is forty-three years before the first English colony in America was planted at Jamestown, in Virginia, and fifty-five years before the Pilgrims landed from the *May Flower* upon Plymouth rock in 1620.

This second colony, like the first, treated the natives with consideration, respecting them as the lawful proprietors of the country, and received much favor and kindness in return. Such was the general deportment of the French towards the Indians, in all their intercourse with them, the reverse of the

* This was the first vessel built within the limits of the United States; and, as the story gives it, neither of these colonists were skilled in this line of work, but constructed it in such manner as to be able to navigate the Atlantic.

course adopted by the Spaniards, and, in many instances, by the English colonists, which accounts for the friendship the Indians had for the French, and the distrust and hatred manifested towards the Spaniards and others who adopted their harsh and disrespectful conduct.

These French colonists, like the first colony planted at Port Royal, in South Carolina, after a few months were reduced to great distress for want of provisions and the necessaries for the promotion of health and subsistence, and would have abandoned the country a second time but for the arrival of Captain John Ribault with reinforcements.

Intelligence of the existence of this small Huguenot colony was given to the harsh and intolerant Philip II, King of Spain, who, by virtue of discovery, laid claim to all this southern country, by the name of Florida. Jealous of his sovereign rights and of any encroachments by other European powers in the New World, and especially indignant that a colony of heretics should presume to trespass upon any of his domain, he dispatched six ships, well armed and provisioned, under the command of Captain Pedro Menendez de Aviles, a brave, bigoted, and remorseless soldier, to drive out this French Protestant colony, and to take possession of the country for himself.

The contract of Captain Menendez with the Spanish king was, that he should furnish one of the galleons, completely equipped and provisioned, and that he should conquer and settle the country. He obligated himself to take to this country 100 horses, 200 head of horned cattle, 400 hogs, 400 sheep, and some goats, and 500 slaves, the third part of whom were to be men, to aid in cultivating the soil and for building habitations; also to take in this expedition twelve priests and four fathers of the Jesuit order.

He was to build two or three towns of 100 families each,

with a fort; and was to be governor, with a salary of 2,000 ducats, and a percentage of the royal duties.

His force on leaving Spain was 2,600 men, many of whom were lost on the passage by storms and accidents. He arrived on the coast, August 28, 1565, shortly after the arrival of the fleet of Captain John Ribault.

On the 7th day of September Menendez cast anchor in the river of Dolphins, so named from the large number of these fish found there, and which is now the harbor of St. Augustine.

He disembarked his men on the present site of this city, and here commenced one of the towns which his contract with Philip II required him to establish, and it being the calendar day of that eminent saint, St. Augustine, the 8th of September, the place received this saint's name that day, 1565, which it has since retained. Here Captain Menendez landed eighty cannon from his ships, of which the lightest weighed 2,500 lbs.

He immediately set upon the work for which he came, and by inquiry of the natives learned the true position of the French fort and the character of its defenses. The two parties each numbered about 600 combatants.

In those days the belief in special providence was much stronger than at the present time, and on every act, especially that which pertained to the support and protection of their religion, there was a special invocation to the Deity, and whether they were to proceed on an errand of mercy, or to murder those of a different religious faith, they were laboring for the glory of God.

After hearing mass, and having excited his soldiers by an address, showing them that it was a duty to themselves, their holy religion, and the king, to punish the French heretics, about five hundred men, well armed and provisioned for four days, moved forward against Fort Caroline, the head-quarters

of the French, they first having ascertained that a large part of the force had left the fort and embarked aboard their vessels, under command of Captain Ribault, to attack the Spaniards by sea, and had by a severe storm been blown far off to a distant part of the coast.

It was under these circumstances that the Spanish force fell upon the small number of the French at Fort Caroline, on the 20th of September, then containing a garrison of about 240 souls—men, women, and children. The commander, Laudonniere, finding resistance useless, escaped with twenty or thirty men on board a vessel in the harbor, and, after some delay, departed for France. All the others, some reports say, were massacred; but the Spanish accounts say that the women, and all children under fifteen years of age, were spared.

The troops which unfortunately left the fort with Captain Ribault to attack the Spanish forces by sea were wrecked on the coast by the severe storm before referred to, and were soon reported to the Spaniards by the Indians as being in a distressed condition.

Menendez at once laid his plans to entrap and get them into his hands, and soon succeeded, by holding out acts of clemency towards them. Their whole number, consisting of about 550 men, who had become separated, and were then in two companies, at different points on the coast, below St. Augustine.

One of these companies, numbering about 208 men, was first inveigled by false pretenses into his custody, and having been interrogated as to their faith, and acknowledging themselves Lutherans and Calvinists, all but eight of them, who were Catholics, namely, about 200, were marched in the direction of St. Augustine, in small companies of ten persons, with their hands tied behind them, and when they arrived at a point designated by Menendez, they were shot by

his orders, each company as they reached that point, but were all ignorant of their fate until the time of execution, and from the representations of Menendez supposed they were soon to be shipped to France. About 200 of the other company, including Captain Ribault, were induced to surrender by the same pretenses, and shot in like manner, after all had delivered up their standards and arms, without having offered any resistance or done any injury to the Spaniards. Nothing in the annals of crime exhibits more deception and villainy than the wholesale murder of these prisoners by Menendez, and approved as a satisfactory course of procedure by Philip II, of Spain. The remaining party, numbering 150 men, having been taken afterwards, were treated more humanely; they were permitted to remain with the Spanish colony; but probably left Florida as opportunity occurred, being of a different religious faith.

Thus terminated Admiral Coligny's colony of French Protestants in Florida, and the first attempt at establishing a European colony within the limits of the United States.

A remarkable act of revenge and retaliation fell upon this Spanish colony in the year 1568. Dominic de Gourgues, a gentleman of wealth, but accustomed to adventure, having suffered as a prisoner at a former period by the Spaniards, took upon himself, being a Frenchman, the expression of the indignation with which the French people viewed the slaughter of their countrymen, as the French court, being Catholic, had taken no notice of this event.

De Gourgues, with three vessels, and a land force of 250 select soldiers, animated with like feelings as their leader, appeared in April, 1568, off the mouth of the St. John's. The Spanish fort received his vessels with a salute, supposing them to be under the Spanish flag. De Gourgues returned the salute to deceive the Spaniards. He found the Indians very friendly, but bitterly hostile to the Spaniards, and quite ready

to join him against their persons and effects. His plans were quickly formed, and immediately carried into execution.

He had learned from the Indians that the Spaniards numbered about 400 persons, being divided into three parties, and located in three forts, built and flanked, and well fortified upon the high bank of the river May, *alias* St. John's, *alias* San Matheo.

The great fort begun by the French, and finished by them, was located in the most commanding point of the principal landing-places, and about two leagues down the river; they had two smaller forts (the river passing between them), with 120 soldiers, and artillery and ammunition for their defense.

De Gourgues rendezvoused at Fort George Inlet, called by them "Sarabay;" they then moved upon the lower forts at break of day, on the Sunday next after Easter Day, in April, 1568, and soon made capture of both, killing all their garrisons, except fifteen men, reserved for future execution in imitation of the barbarous acts of Menendez upon his French prisoners. Some few, however, of the garrisons of these two forts escaped to the great fort, named Fort Caroline, upon which De Gourgues, with his French soldiers and numerous Indians, who had joined him, now advanced. Their numbers had been greatly magnified by the Spanish soldiers, who, in their terror, had escaped from the lower forts. Having skillfully marshaled his forces, with his Indian allies as outposts to secure such Spaniards as should attempt to escape, he then with his main body charged them in front; the Spaniards, turning to seek security, were met by the force stationed in the rear, and this portion were all either killed or taken prisoners. Seeing this misfortune, the Spanish commander despaired of being able to hold the fortress, determined to make a timely escape to St. Augustine, when most of his followers either fell into the hands of the Indians, or were

slain upon the spot. The commander, with a few others, were all that escaped.

De Gourgues, now completely successful in retaliation for the fate of his countrymen on this spot three years before, caused to be suspended on the same tree which had borne the bodies of the Huguenots, his Spanish prisoners ; and, as Menendez had on that occasion erected a tablet, stating that "*they had not been punished as Frenchmen, but as Lutherans and heretics,*" so he (De Gourgues) in like manner erected his tablet, with the inscription that he had done this to them, "*not as to Spaniards, nor as to mariners, but as to traitors, thieves, and murderers.*"

After inducing the Indians to aid in destroying the forts, he set sail for France, arriving safely at Rochelle, June 1, thirty-four days after their departure from the river May, in Florida, with the loss of a small pinnace with eight men, and but a few men slain in the assaults upon the forts.

Dominic de Gourgues was a native of Mount Marsan, in the province of Guyenne ; for many years he held an office in the army of France, and was respected as a gentleman and man of fortune. He died in the year 1582.

Notwithstanding the sad termination of this Huguenot colony, planted through the benevolent design of Admiral Coligny, it was not without some favorable results in the planting of the first English colony in America—that of Jamestown, in 1607, in Virginia.

As small circumstances sometimes tend to great results, so it may be said of some instances that arose out of this fatal enterprise.

In providing for the success of this French colony, there were furnished for the expedition several persons skilled as draftsmen and artists, whose duty it was to take notice of anything curious, or particularly noticeable in either the geography, climate, animal, or vegetable life of the country, and

to make drafts, or take special note of the same. This important duty was faithfully and skillfully performed by an artist by the name of Jacques de Morgues, of Dieppe, one of the party who escaped from Fort Caroline, with Captain Rene de Laudonniere, in 1565, at the time of the massacre by Menendez.

On the return of De Gourgues, Walter Raleigh, a young Englishman, had abruptly left the University of Oxford to take part in the civil war between the Huguenots and Catholics of France ; and, with the Prince of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV, was learning the art of war under the veteran Coligny, then the first general in Europe.

The Protestant party was, at that time, greatly excited with indignation at the massacre which De Gourgues had avenged, and young Raleigh could not but gather from his associates in the Huguenot army, and its commander, Coligny, who had been instrumental in planting the unfortunate colony in Florida, much intelligence respecting that country and the navigation of its coasts. Some of the unhappy men who had escaped from the first expedition, on their arrival off the coast of France, were taken by English mariners to that country, and conducted to Queen Elizabeth, and had excited in the public mind in England a desire for the possession of the southern coast of America.

The reports of Hawkins, who had been the benefactor of the Huguenots at the river May, added to this excitement in England ; and Jacques de Morgues, the painter, who had sketched in Florida the most remarkable appearances of nature, was ultimately engaged by Sir Walter Raleigh in his attempts to plant a colony in this more southern latitude ; hitherto the efforts of the English, and particularly those of 1578 and 1583, by Sir Humphrey Gilbert (who was the step-brother of Sir Walter Raleigh), had been in the northern regions of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. •

This shows that through the information received from some

of the members and associates which carried into effect this ill-fated Huguenot enterprise, on the southern coast of this republic, the efforts of the English were directed to more southern latitudes, and the result was the founding of the first English colony in North America, which, as a reasonable probability, prevented the acquisition of this great southern part of the present territory of the United States by the Spaniards, or perhaps by the Catholic French, by extending their possessions east over the same, from their settlements along the Mississippi river and Florida.

Besides being the first in the field in planting a colony on this southern coast, the Huguenots were the first to establish permanent colonies in New France, or what is now known as the Canadas and Nova Scotia.

While John Verrazzani, a Florentine, under the patronage of Francis I, of France, explored all the coast of this republic from near Cape Hatteras to Nova Scotia, in the year 1524, touching the coast of North Carolina, and entering the harbors of New York and Newport, Rhode Island ; and while James Cartier, a mariner of St. Malo, discovered the great river of Canada in 1534, and at different times sailed up its channel and discovered the island of Hochelaga, now known as Montreal, so named by this explorer in the year 1535—yet neither attempted to plant colonies, but acted simply the part of discoverers.

But finally in 1541-'42 an actual attempt was made to plant a colony on the banks of the St. Lawrence, when a fort was built near the present site of the city of Quebec.

In this last enterprise Cartier was appointed Captain-General and Chief Pilot, as an associate with Francis de la Roque, of Picardy, and Lord of Roberval, a person of distinction, who received the commission and title of Lord of Norimbega, a name given to all this northern region ; yet, with all his high

titles and the efforts of this generalissimo, they failed to establish colonies.

In this condition this northern country remained; and, in fact, with the exception of the Spanish colony at St. Augustine, the result of the Huguenot enterprise before related, more than forty years elapsed before any successful attempt was made to establish a colony in any part of North America, north of the above-named colony, by Spain. As Mr. Bancroft has expressed it,

“This Huguenot colony at the South sprang from private enterprise; a government which could devise the Massacre of St. Bartholomew was neither worthy nor able to found new States.”

“At length, under the mild and tolerant reign of Henry IV, the star of France emerged from the clouds of blood, treachery, and civil war, which had so long eclipsed her glory.”

The number and importance of the fishing stages had increased; in 1578 there were 150 French vessels at Newfoundland, and regular voyages for traffic with the natives began to be successfully made. One French mariner, before 1609, had made more than forty voyages to the North American coast. Colonization was again attempted in 1598, but the enterprise entirely failed.

Finally, after some other movements for this purpose, a commission was issued by Henry IV to a Huguenot, the able, patriotic, and honest Governor of Pons, Pierre du Gua, Sieur de Monts. To him was granted the monopoly of the fur trade in all parts of North America, lying between Cape Race, in Newfoundland, up to the fiftieth degree of north latitude, inclusive. All Huguenots or French Protestants, it was ordained, were to enjoy in America, as then in France under the Edict of Nantes, full freedom of their public religious worship. Much good was expected to result from this enterprise to be conducted by the able and honest Sieur de Monts; nor were the public or his patron, King Henry IV, disappointed.

De Monts was distinguished as one ever zealous for the glory of his country. His ships, with emigrants, embarked at Havre de Grace in March 1604; Samuel de Champlain as the navigator. They sailed towards Acadia, which M. de Monts preferred to Canada, because of its milder climate, and which was then the chief place of resort for the French fur trade, and was considered at this time the finest country of New France. They at last arrived on the coast, and entered the Bay of Fundy, and finally the bay, *now at Annapolis*, but named by Baron Jean de Pontrincourt, who with his family were of the company, *Port Royal*. From here they sailed to the entrance of the St. Croix river, and decided to make a settlement on an island at the mouth of the same, which proved unsatisfactory, but after remaining here through the winter abandoned the place, and returned to Port Royal, Nova Scotia, and there established the first French colony in the spring of 1605. This occurred two years before the James river was discovered, three years before any settlement was effected in Canada, and fifteen years before the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth.*

* The following authors have been consulted in writing the foregoing sketch, to wit:—Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, vol. II, his History of the Reformation; W. S. Browning's History of the Huguenots; Rev. John G. Lorimer's Historical Sketch of the Protestant Church of France; Nathaniel William Wraxall's History of France under the kings of the race of Valois, including the reign of Francis I, and to the close of the reign of Charles IX. Miss Pardoe's Louis XIV, and the Court of France in the seventeenth century; M. Charles Weiss' History of French Protestant Refugees; the Rev. P. F. X. De Charlevoix' History of New France; Bancroft's History of the United States; Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida, by B. F. French; Hayden's Dictionary of Dates; Bishop Burnet's History of his own Time; Hume's History of England; Henry Thomas Buckle's History of Civilization in England; the Massacre of St. Bartholomew and History of Civil Wars in the reign of Charles IX, by Henry White; Samuel Smiles' The Huguenots, their Settlements, Churches, and Industries; Menzel's History of Germany; D'Aubigne's Reformation; the History of the Reformed Religion in France, by Rev. Edward Smedley; the Memoirs of the Duke of Sully (Maximilian Bethune); Henri Martin's History of France; and various other works relating to the History of Germany, Spain, England, and the Netherlands; also, An Analysis of the History of the Reformation, and prior and subsequent History of the English Church, by Rev. W. H. Pinnock, LL. D., 3d edition; Cambridge, England, 1854.



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Amos D. Witt.

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OXFORD.

SECTION II.

CHAPTER I.

THE GRANT FOR OXFORD: ITS HISTORY, AND THAT OF THE COLONY OF HUGUENOTS, OR FRENCH PROTESTANTS, WHO FORMED HERE THE FIRST PLANTATION.

THIS was the first grant for a town within the limits of the territory, now the county of Worcester, after the disastrous war of King Philip. There had been granted but four townships in this great interior territory, then known as the Nipnet or Nipmuck country, previous to this time, viz.: Lancaster, in 1653, a place known to the English as early as 1643, as the Indian town called "Nashaway;" Mendon, petitioned for by some inhabitants of Braintree in 1660, and granted for a town in 1667; Brookfield, a place known as the Indian town of the Quaboags, visited by the Rev. John Eliot in 1655, to make known to these natives the revelations of the Gospel; it was granted to a number of the inhabitants of Ipswich, in the county of Essex, in 1660, and not incorporated as Brookfield until 1673; the fourth was Quinsigamond, granted by the request of Daniel Gookin, the Indian agent of the colony, as a favorable place for a town, being an intermediate place between Boston and Springfield, located in 1668, on his and others' petition, made in 1665.

These grants were in the midst of the native occupants of this interior, and mostly located by their solicitation, the first settlers being generally traders, who gained a support by

traffic with these Indians ; and although their progress as towns had been slow, yet they were regarded before this war as permanently established, with little fear from these natives, as there had been a general peace with the Indians since the Pequot war of 1637. This unexpected war of Philip soon extended to this interior, and where peace and quiet had reigned uninterruptedly, a war of extermination and desolation, without any apparent cause or warning, followed. All these plantations, during the years 1675 and 1676, were destroyed, and several years intervened before settlements again commenced in either.

Quinsigamond had only about six English dwellings at this time, which were burned ; and several years passed before another attempt for a settlement began, when, on the petition of Daniel Gookin and others, in 1684, this Indian name was changed for Worcester ; but the place was not organized as a town till September 28, 1722.

The English planters were, from their first settling in the country, accustomed to respect the Indian ownership of the soil, and paid for lands they occupied ; and following this war, although but a remnant of these natives remained, and a powerless body, yet the General Court, before proceeding to make new grants in this interior, deemed it proper to seek out the native owners, however humble, and to purchase, at a satisfactory price agreed upon, a large tract of this country. For that end in view an order was passed, February 15, 1681, appointing the Hon. William Stoughton, of Dorchester, and Hon. Joseph Dudley, of Roxbury, to attend to that duty. Having so done, they report as follows :

“ Whereas, we were appointed by the General Court, by their order, February 15, 1681, to transact some matters relating to the Indians, concerning their lands, and being upon that occasion at Natick, on the 19th of May, there were presented to us the deeds of sale hereto annexed, from the principal men of Natick, which they acknowledged before us, made to Samuel Gookin and Samuel Howe, for a parcel of remote and

waste lands, belonging to the said Indians, lying at the uttermost westerly bounds of Natick, and, as we are informed (having seen the plot thereof), is for quantity about — aeres, more or less, being mean lands, and said to be, the most part, composed with lands belonging to the English; and having inquired into the matter, we conceive it would be no prejudice or inconvenience to the Indians, or their plantation at Natick, to sell the same to the persons concerned, which at ye request of parties, both English and Indians, we offer to the Court for their confirmation of ye sale.

“WILLIAM STOUGHTON.

“JOSEPH DUDLEY.

“May 27, 1682.”

The Indian deeds referred to in the foregoing report are deemed of sufficient interest to appear in connection with this history, which are as follows :

FIRST DEED.

“To all Christian people to whom this present Deed shall come:

“Know ye, that we, Waban, Pyambobó, John Awassawog, Thomas Awassawog, Samuel Awassawog, John Awassawog, Jr., Anthony Tray, John Tray, Peter Ephraim, Nehemiah James, Rumeny Marsh, Zaćkery Abraham, Samuel Neaucit, Simon Sacomit, Andrew Pittyme, Ebenezer Pegin, John Maquaw, James Printer, Samuel Aecompanit, Joseph Milion, and Samuel Cocksquamion, Indian natives, and natural descendants of the ancient proprietors and inhabitants of the Nipmuck country (so called) and lands adjaeent within the Colony of Massachusetts, in New England, for, and in consideration of the sum of thirty pounds, current money of New England, to us in hand, at and before the ensealing and delivery of these presents, well and truly paid by William Stoughton, of the town of Dorchester, Esq., and Joseph Dudley, of the town of Roxbury, Esq., both within the Colony of Massachusetts, the receipt of which valuable sum we do hereby acknowledge ourselves therewith fully satisfied, have granted, bargained, and sold unto said William Stoughton and Joseph Dudley, their heirs and assigns, forever, all that part of the Nipmuck country, lying and being beyond the great river called Kuttatuck or Nipmuck river (now Blackstone), and between a range of marked trees; beginning at the said river, and running south-east till it fall upon the south line of said colony, on the south, and a certain imaginary line four miles on the north side of the road as it now lieth to Springfield, on the north; the said great river Kuttatuck or Nipmuck on the east, and the said patent line on the west; all the

lands lying within the said limits or bounds, be they more or less. In witness whereof, we have hereunto put our hands and seals this 10th day of February, Anno Domini, one thousand six hundred and eighty-one, and in the four-and-thirtieth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord, King Charles the Second, over England," &c.

"Signed, sealed, and delivered in presence of us, Samuel Ruggles, Sen., Daniel Morse, Samuel Gookin, John Allen, Obadiah Morse.	}	"Waban, X his mark and seal. Pyambobo, O " " John Awassawog, O " " Samuel Awassawog, m " " Samuel Bowman, h " " John Awassawog, Jr. V " " Anthony Tray, A " " Thomas Tray, ? " " Benjamin Tray, p " " Jethro, B " " Joseph Ammon, Jo " " Peter Ephraim, be " " Andrew Pittyme, An " " Nehemiah, " " Zackery Abraham, H " " Samuel Neaucit, M " " Thomas Waban, m " " George Moonisco, G. " " Eleazer T. Pegin " " Simon Sacomit, " " Great Jacob Jacob, " " Elisha Milion, { " Menumion, { O. alias, "
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The second deed was of the same date, embracing the same territory, with the consideration of twenty pounds lawful money of New England, making fifty pounds as the full payment for the relinquishment of the Indian title to the tract of country thus conveyed, but had a reservation as follows:

"Reserving always unto ourselves, our heirs and assigns, out of the above said grant, a certain tract of land five miles square, at such two places as we shall choose, to be wholly at our own use and dispose."*

* This reservation was selected and located at Chabanakongkomun, surveyed in October, 1684, to Black James and others. It extended west from Chabanakongkomun pond (from which the Indian town here took its name), over Maanexit river (French river). Nearly all of this tract, with other lands between the towns of Oxford and Woodstock, became the property of Joseph Dudley, and afterwards fell to his sons, the Hon. Paul and William Dudley. Part of this Indian land is now within the limits of Thompson, Conn., and part in Dudley.

Signed and witnessed as follows:

“Signed, sealed, and delivered	}	“Black James, U and Seal.
in presence of		Sam Jaco, E “
William Parker.		Benjamin, O “
Isaac Newell.		Simon Wolamp, Lo “
John Gove.		Wolowa Nonek, F “
Samuel Ruggles, Jr.		Pe Pey Pegans, “
Peter (his X mark) Gardiner.		Poponi Shant, Ts, “
Ralph Brodhurst.		Cotoosowk, son of
		Wolompaw, by his
		order “
	Wabequola, Wab “	
	Siebquat, his mark S “	

The grant for Oxford, as expressed on the records of the Court, is in the following words:

“This Court having information that some gentlemen in England are desirous to remove themselves into this colony, and (if it may be) to settle themselves under the Massachusetts; for the encouragement of such persons, and that they may have some from among themselves, according to their motion, to assist and direct them in such a design, this Court doth grant to Major Robert Thompson, William Stoughton, and Joseph Dudley, Esq., and such others as they shall associate to them, a tract of land in any free place, *conteyning* eight miles square, for a township, they settling in the said place within *four* years, thirty families, and an able orthodox minister, and doe allow to the said township freedom from country rates for *four* years from the time above limited.”—May 16, 1683.*

On the petition of these grantees, in 1685, the General Court extended the time for settling upon this grant, the thirty families, as follows:

“In answer to the motion and request of William Stoughton and Joseph Dudley, Esq., on behalf of Major Thompson and themselves, desiring this Court’s favor to enlarge the time of their grant of their plantation, this Court do enlarge the time for settling that plantation therein mentioned, the space of three years from this day.”—January, 1685.†

The grantees and their associates interested in this grant were men of distinction; and some of them had great influence

* See Records of General Court, vol. v, p. 402.

† See Records of General Court, vol. v, p. 594.

in the province. The first gentleman named in this grant, Major Robert Thompson, although for a considerable period a resident of New England, and a firm friend of the Puritans, sympathizing with them in his religious faith, has not been remembered by any of the authors of the biographical dictionaries, designed to perpetuate the names and acts of men distinguished in the history of this section of our country.

Major Thompson's connection with the grant for this town, as the first-named in the act for establishing the same by the General Court, the eminence of his associates, and his connection otherwise with the affairs of New England, is deemed a sufficient reason for introducing here some historical facts in illustration of his character, and for the preservation of his memory.

It appears that Major Thompson was a member of the first corporation established in England, by an act of Parliament, July 19, 1649, for the Propagation of the Gospel Among the Indians of New England. The colony of Massachusetts had, at the suggestion of some of the leading men among the ministers of the Gospel, passed an act, in September, 1646, for Christianizing the Indians; among these ministers was the Rev. John Eliot, who had here received, while examining this religious question, that inspiration which led him to devote the future of his life to this benevolent object.*

The limited means of the colony at this early period were not equal to carrying on the plans designed for promoting this object. It was, therefore, determined to have this matter presented to the pious and benevolent in England, to enlist their aid in its behalf.

Edward Winslow, of Plymouth, being then the agent of

* See Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, vol. i, pp. 150-157, 3d edition, 1795; also see Court Records, October 1, 1645, vol. ii, pp. 55, 84, 134, purchase of land at Natick for the first township for collecting and civilizing the natives.

the colony at the English court, was instructed to use his influence in favor of the cause. The result was the act of incorporation as aforesaid; and in effecting the same, Mr. Winslow received essential aid from Herbert Pelham, Richard Hutchinson, Robert Thompson, and Richard Floyd, all of whom had been in New England, and whose names were inserted, with others, in England; William Steel, James Shirley, Abraham Babington, Robert Houghton, George Dun, William Mullins, John Hodgson, Edward Parks, Edward Clud, Thomas Aires, and John Stone, with Edward Winslow, as the first corporators in this act of Parliament.

Judge William Steel was elected its first President, Richard Floyd the Treasurer. Mr. James Shirley was the special friend of Plymouth colony, while Herbert Pelham and Robert Thompson were well-known friends of the early settlers in both the colony of Massachusetts and that of Connecticut.*

Major Thompson was identified with this religious enterprise, established in the last year of the reign of Charles I, and continued through the dictatorship of Cromwell; and, when renewed by Charles II, in 1662, with the Hon. Robert Boyle as the second President, he was continued a member of the same. When the Hon. Robert Boyle resigned the office of President, after serving the society more than twenty years, Major Thompson became its third President.†

It further appears that Major Thompson was a particular friend of Edward Hopkins, the son-in-law of Theophilus Eaton, one of the founders of the colony of New Haven, and who was the successor of John Haynes, as the second Governor of the colony of Connecticut.

He calls Major Thompson his loving friend, and in his

*See Hutchinson's *Massachusetts*, vol. i, p. 154; also, Bradford's *History of Plymouth Colony*, pp. 157, 229, 246, and 250; and *Colonial Records of Connecticut*, 1678-1689, p. 261; likewise, Hazzard's *Collections, State Papers*, vol. i, pp. 318 and 635; also, vol. ii pp. 146-147; and 483.

† See Hutchinson's *History Massachusetts*, vol. i, p. 324.

“*Will*,” made March 17, 1657, appoints him and Francis Willoughby its overseers.

It is presumed, from the reading of this will, that Major Thompson was his relative by marriage. After devising several considerable sums to friends and relatives, he adds: “My further mind and will is—

“That within six months after the decease of my wife, £500 be made over into New England, according to the advice of my loving friends, Major Robert Thompson and Mr. Francis Willoughby,* and conveyed into the hands of the Trustees—Theophilus Eaton, Esq., Mr. John Davenport (the Rev. as supposed), Mr. John Culick, and Mr. William Goodwin, in further prosecution of the aforesaid public ends (to give some encouragement in those foreign plantations for the breeding up of hopeful youth—both at the grammar school and college at Cambridge, for the public service of the country in future times), which, in the simplicity of my heart, are for the upholding and promoting the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ in those parts of the earth.”†

The following letter to Major Thompson, by Gov. William Leete, of the colony of Connecticut, will show something of his standing and character in England:

“HARTFORD, *Oct. 23d*, 1678.

“HONORED SIR:

“I am desired by our General Assembly to intreat so much favor from

* Francis Willoughby was Lieutenant-Governor of the colony of Massachusetts six years, 1665–1670, Richard Bellingham being Governor at the same time.

† Mr. Hopkins provided similarly for the college and school at New Haven. The receipt of these funds was not realized until many years afterwards. Mrs. Hopkins survived her husband, who died in 1657, over forty years, dying December 17, 1698, at which time the executors, overseers, and trustees named in the will had deceased, and the property devised had passed to other hands. It became necessary to institute a suit in chancery in the English courts, and, after much delay, a decision was arrived at by Sir Simon Harcourt, Lord-keeper, who decreed that the money be paid over according to the will of the testator. This, as appears, was received in 1714, and, as the decree directed, was invested in lands, in the interior of Natick (as then known). A tract of 13,000 acres was purchased of the Natick Indians, comprising, with an additional grant from the province, the town of Hopkinton, in Middlesex county (which derived its name from this benefactor), and part of the town of Upton, in the county of Worcester. Governor Joseph Dudley, and other distinguished persons in the province, to the number of twenty-one, were the first trustees. The rents of these lands for many years yielded only \$222.22, annually, until March, 1823, when it was agreed that the rent should, in future, for ninety-nine years, be \$666.67, one penny sterling per acre, and afterwards three pence sterling. This contract was soon compromised for a net sum, which, in 1853, amounted to over \$30,000.

See Quincy's History of Harvard University; also, see Mr. Savage's Notes to Winthrop's History of New England, vol. i, pp. 228–230.

yourself as to be concerned on their and our behalf, either by your own hand or some other person that you judge meet, and can prevail withall to present this, our humble address, into his Majesty's hand, with the beseeching his Royal candor to pardon both our slowness and* meanness therein, as coming from his poor wilderness subjects lately saved out of the hands of a barbarous enemy, and much unskilled in making such a sublime presentation of themselves, yet could not in duty forbear the adventuring to make ourselves known in the capacity of loyal subjects, upon confidence of finding his Majesty unchangeable in the grace we have formerly experienced. If anything hereabout should occasion charge, we shall, with all readiness, be responsible, and remain your obliged and thankful servants,

WM. LEETE,

“Subscribed these for the Hon. Robert } on behalf, as above,
Thompson, Esq., at Newington, } (Gen'l Assembly).”
near London.

Major Thompson was one of the referees to whom the adjustment of the charter bounds between Connecticut and Rhode Island was submitted by Governor John Winthrop, Jr., and Mr. John Clark, in 1663. Afterwards the colony of Connecticut, as well as Massachusetts, had frequent occasion to ask his good offices for the presentation of petitions and

*The petition to his majesty, Charles II, forwarded with this letter to be presented, referred to the continuance of that charter of the colony obtained of his majesty by John Winthrop, Jr., in 1662, the same charter of said colony, which Sir Edmund Andros, then Governor of the Territories in America belonging to the Duke of York, afterwards James II, was making effort to violate.

Sir Edmund Andros, having served as Governor over the Territories of the Duke of York in America a number of years, and known as a very unscrupulous and exacting man, received appointment and was commissioned, June 3, 1686, Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief in and over the colonies of Massachusetts Bay and New Plymouth, the provinces of New Hampshire and Maine, and the Narragansett country, or King's Province. He arrived at Boston on the 20th of December, and published his commission the same day. On the 22d he dispatched special messengers to Rhode Island and Connecticut, with letters to their governors, announcing his arrival, and that he was authorized to receive the surrender of the charters of those colonies, if tendered by them. At the same time, Edward Randolph, another despotic tool of James II, wrote Governor Treat, of Connecticut, urging him to avail himself of the only door yet open, by an early application to his excellency, to be annexed to his government, and informing him that a third writ of *quo warranto* had been issued against the colony, returnable February 9.

A letter from the Under-Sheriff of London, indorsing the writ, was delivered by the same messenger.

This shows the condition of the New England colonies at the close of the reign of Charles II, and in the short reign of James II, formerly Duke of York. It was fortunate for these colonies that the revolution in England, in 1688, displaced these despots and placed the Prince of Orange on the throne, under a constitution that protected the rights of the people.

management of their affairs in England. He received a special grant of 500 acres of land from Massachusetts, besides his share of the grant for Oxford, in 1683, in acknowledgment of his good-will and friendship to that colony. This grant was subsequently laid out in the territory east of Woodstock, which afterwards became the north part of Killingly; and, in 1731, the General Assembly of Connecticut granted to Joseph Thompson, Esq., of the Inner Temple, London, grandson and heir of the said Robert Thompson, Esq., of the parish of Stoke, Newington, deceased, 2,000 acres near the grant before to his grandfather, which, with the 500 as aforesaid, making 2,500 acres, was given in remembrance of the valuable services of Major Thompson.*

In 1728 the settlers here formed themselves into a society, by name, "The North Parish of Killingly;" but, in 1730, in honor of Major Robert Thompson, changed the name to *Thompson's Parish*, and it so remained till the year 1785, when, by their petition and the inhabitants of Killingly to the General Assembly of Connecticut, setting forth that the town was eighteen miles long by seven wide, and very inconvenient for the voters to attend Freeman's meetings, it was resolved that Thompson's Parish be made a separate town by the name of *Thompson*.

It also appears that Major Robert Thompson bought the interest of the Rev. Henry Whitfield in the town of Guilford, in Connecticut, after Mr. Whitfield's return to England.

This estate was much the largest and most valuable in that town, Mr. Whitfield being the most wealthy and chief founder of the town, in the year 1639. He received of Colonel George Fenwick a large part of the eastern portion of the town, and had erected a large and expensive stone house on

* Governor Gurdan Saltonstall, in behalf of his great-grandfather, Sir Richard Saltonstall, owned 1,000 acres here, and Josiah Wolcott, son-in-law of John Campbell, the first minister of Oxford, had 2,000 acres here, formerly the property of *Thomas Freak*. The first sale of land in this tract was by this Mr. Wolcott and his wife, Mary, of Salem, to Josiah Sabin, April 10, 1716.

his plantation, beautifully located, fronting the sound, which is a fine house at the present time, all of which became the property of Major Thompson, and descended to his heirs. Mr. Whitfield returned to England about 1652. Thus it will be seen that Major Thompson was a man of note, both in England and in these colonies, and was largely and earnestly interested in their behalf.

The other two gentlemen named in the grant for Oxford are familiarly known by the provincial history of Massachusetts, and by the biographical notices of them by both Eliot and Allen in their biographies of noted men of this early period of New England.

Both Stoughton and Dudley filled a large place in the historical affairs of New England in their day ; both were largely engaged in the public business of these colonies a large part of their lives, and wielded great influence in matters relating to them, both in these colonies and the mother country, and the affairs of the same for that period were largely shaped by their labors.

Stoughton was a man of learning and piety, a benefactor of Harvard College. Stoughton Hall was erected at his expense in 1698 ; he also left by his will several tracts of land for aiding students at the college and scholars at Dorchester. He died, July 7th, 1701, aged 70.

Hon. Joseph Dudley was son of Governor Thomas Dudley, a graduate of Harvard in 1665 ; was agent of the province in England many years ; and, in 1686, was appointed President of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, but was superseded by Andros, and then appointed Chief-Justice of the colony.

In 1689 he again visited England, and, in 1690, returned with a commission as Chief-Justice of the Colony of New York. Soon after, on visiting England, he received the appointment of Lieutenant-Governor of the Isle of Wight, England, which office he held eight years, and was then appointed, by Queen

Anne, Governor of Massachusetts, and continued in that office till November, 1715. He died, April 2, 1720, aged 73.

There was no man in New England in his time who exercised a greater influence in her affairs, at home or abroad. He possessed rare ability, and was a learned man, a gentleman in his deportment, and a firm supporter of the cause of education and religion. Among the associates of these three gentlemen whose names appear in the grant for Oxford, were Doctor Daniel Cox, Captain John Blackwell, of London, and Thomas Freak, of Hannington, in the county of Wilts, England. Of these Englishmen, Major Robert Thompson, Dr. Daniel Cox, Captain John Blackwell, and Thomas Freak, there is good reason to believe that some of them—Blackwell in particular—and probably others, and many of their friends who were Puritan Dissenters, and at this time oppressed for their religious belief, designed to remove and settle permanently in this country ; but changed their design for the reason of the favorable change in both political and religious affairs in England, consequent upon the death of King Charles II, and the short reign of James II, which brought to the English throne William of Nassau, the Prince of Orange, as William III, giving to England a constitution defining and protecting the rights of the people, against what had been the oppressive acts and designs of the two preceding reigning princes.

The following letter from Dr. Cox to Governor Bradstreet, dated “London, October 10, 1684,” is evidence of the design referred to above :

“Divers persons in England and Ireland, gentlemen, citizens, and others, being inclined to remove themselves into foreign parts, where they may enjoy, without interruption, the public exercise of the Christian religion, according to what they apprehend to be of Divine institution, have prevailed with Mr. Blackwell to make your country a visit, and enquire whether they may be there welcome, and which they may reasonably expect—that liberty they promise themselves and others, who will attend their motion.”

The following is another letter of similar import, there being only nine days' difference in their date; and while the first is from England, this latter is from France; it being a singular coincidence touching the idea of fleeing from religious oppression, and looking to New England, in America, as a place of refuge for the enjoyment of their religious faith, denied them in their own country :

“ROCHELLE, *October 1, 1684.*

“New England, the country where you live, is in great esteem ; I and a great many others, Protestants, intend to go there. Tell us, if you please, what advantage we can have, and particularly the peasants who are used to the plough. If somebody of your country would send a ship here to bring over French Protestants, he would make great gain.”

The English Revolution of 1688 had a similar effect to that of the Revolution of 1640, in staying the emigration of English Dissenters to New England. But in France there was no such relief, but if possible, it continued with increased severity, resulting in the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685, causing hundreds of thousands of this proscribed class to exile themselves to foreign countries. It was of this class that entered the wilderness and formed the first plantation at Oxford. Captain John Blackwell came to New England, as proposed by Dr. Cox, and remained several years, and was the friend and associate of Mr. Dudley.

Besides being an associate in the grant for Oxford, he, with Captain James Fitch and others, obtained a separate grant as described,* “in the Wabquasset country,” bearing date, “July 8, 1686.” This grant afterwards became the town of Pomfret, which was incorporated in 1713. The same reasons that changed the decision of Dr. Cox, Freak, and others, from removing to New England, no doubt induced Captain Black-

* See Colonial Records of Connecticut, vol. from 1678 to 1689, p. 149. This describes bounds of Wabquasset country.

well to abandon the idea of forming a settlement of his friends here, and to return home. He procured a division of the Wabquasset grant, which gave him a separate tract of 5,000 acres in the south part of the same, to which he gave the name of Mortlake. The name was that of a village in Surrey, in England, near the Thames, a few miles above London. This was the place of residence of General Lambert (the father-in-law of Blackwell), and Lord Pack, Lord Tichburn, Sir John Ireton, and many others of Oliver Cromwell's friends and supporters. The Wimbledon House and other courtly places were here established during the protectorate. Blackwell's heirs sold the Mortlake estate to Jonathan Belcher, afterwards Governor of Massachusetts, and probably sold his Oxford lands to other parties in Boston—they, amounting to 7,714 acres, making 12,714 acres in the two grants. Mortlake remained a separate district, but without corporate powers, until 1752, when it was annexed by the Assembly of Connecticut to the town of Pomfret.

Blackwell was a member of the English Parliament in 1656, under the Commonwealth of Cromwell, and a treasurer in his army. In the year 1657, Parliament, by a special act, settled upon him and his heirs large tracts of land in Ireland, in the counties of Dublin and Kildare.* He was excepted from the general pardon when Charles II was restored to the throne, and was, for a time, obliged to exile himself, as did his father-in-law, General Lambert, and many others, who had served under Cromwell. He and General Lambert resided several years in the island of Guernsey, off the coast of Normandy. He came to this country in 1684, commissioned by the English and Irish Dissenters, to look for a place of refuge, and it is quite clear that he continued here four or five years, until after the Revolution of 1688.

* See vol. III, Colonial Records of Connecticut, pp. 202, 222, 246-247.

Edward Randolph, a tool of the government of Charles II, and afterwards that of the Duke of York, who succeeded to the throne as James II, was employed at Boston, as an officer of the customs, while Captain Blackwell resided in this country, and wrote to his superiors at home, noticing the attention shown to him by Governor Dudley, viz.: "That Captain Blackwell, son-in-law to Lambert, and a violent Commonwealth's man, was made a justice of the peace by Governor Dudley and his council, and consulted with about all public affairs." This might have been the occasion for the Duke of York (James II) taking prompt measures for superseding Governor Dudley by the appointment of Sir Edmund Andros. Dudley received his appointment, May 20, 1686, and was succeeded by the appointment of Andros, December 20, following, Blackwell being a resident of Boston at this time.

Thus it will be seen, by the foregoing, that Major Thompson and Captain Blackwell were men of high standing and character both in England and America, and it is presumed, from their connection in this association, that Doctor Cox and Thomas Freak were of a similar position in society.

The first survey of the grant for Oxford was made by John Gore, of Roxbury. Its contents were 41,250 acres. On the presentation of this survey and plan to the General Court, it was accepted on the 16th of May, 1683, and received the name of Oxford, in honor of Oxford, in Oxfordshire, in England, and its celebrated university, at which many of the noted Puritan fathers of New England received their collegiate education.

The first object of the grantees was to furnish the thirty families of permanent planters. The grantees for the town of Woodstock, then known as New Roxbury, and the older plantations of Lancaster, Mendon, Brookfield, and Quinsigamond (called Worcester in 1684), destroyed by the recent

Indian war, were all in the market for procuring settlers at this time.

The disposition for removing from the old settled towns near Boston into a distant wilderness was much retarded by the knowledge that there were straggling bands of disaffected Indians (the remains of the several old native nations that escaped during the late war of Philip) hanging about the frontier settlements. It was found extremely difficult, at this time, to induce families to remove to any of these plantations. Woodstock, being located further south, and removed somewhat from these encroachments, was the most successful; while it secured its required families of English settlers, the other plantations received but few. The grantees of Oxford, fearing the stipulated time in their grant would expire before their requisite number of families could be obtained for planting upon the same, applied to the Court for an extension of its limits, in this respect, which was granted, as before stated, extending the time three years from 1685. This was the year, it will be noticed, of the Revocation (by Louis XIV, of France) of the Edict of Nantes.

The French Protestants, called Huguenots, had for many years been suffering unprecedented cruelties and persecutions for their religious faith, but more aggravating and relentless during the twenty years immediately preceding this repeal, which had become unendurable, causing vast numbers of this conscientious and pure-minded people to exile themselves and families from their native country. All countries where there was protection for their faith received many of this distressed people. The greater number removed to the Netherlands and to England, and from thence many, through the aid of the benevolent, and from their own resources, found their way to the rising English colonies in America.* They had,

* See M. Charles Weiss' *History of the French Protestant Refugees*, vol. I, book 4, p. 326; also, see Hume's *History of England*, vol. VI, pp. 263-264.

at an earlier period, sought this refuge, before their persecutions were so unbearable, and there were those who, in small numbers, were found among the founders of some of the first English colonies* here, leaving their native country during the siege of Rochelle, from 1627-1628.

“This extraordinary exodus of the French Protestants from France, through persecution, is unequalled in modern history, and nothing scarcely exhibits, with equal impressive force, the short-sighted policy of the ruler of a great nation, unless it be the expulsion of the Moors from Spain.”†

This may be properly considered as one of the leading causes which lost to France her vast empire in America; she proscribed all Protestants from settling in her American colonies, and by her policy furnished numerical strength and power to her antagonist, English colonies.

These persecutions excited the sympathies of all Protestant people, and wherever they sought a refuge they were received with kindness and hospitality. It was this spirit which, no doubt, induced the proprietors of this grant to seek for these exiles to supply the families required for their plantation.

The character of the English colonies in America, in relation to their religion and spirit of political liberty, was well-known to the intelligent Protestants of France, as well as to those of England; and it is known that their attention was directed to these colonies for a place of escape. The following letter is a partial exhibit of this state of feeling in favor of this country. This was written at Rochelle, in France, October 1, 1684:‡

* Broadhead's History of New York, pp. 459, 692, 715, 730, 734-749. New York was the principal resort of the Huguenots who came to America before the repeal of the Edict of Nantes. The Hollanders, who founded this colony, known for their spirit of toleration, received and protected alike those of different religious faith. Massachusetts received some of these early Huguenots at the first planting of that colony: those who left at the fall of Rochelle, in 1628; the writer's ancestor was of that class.

† See Weiss, vol. i, p. 249. It is estimated that 80,000 of these Huguenots established themselves in England in two years prior and subsequent to the Revocation.

‡ This letter is quoted in part in another place.

“God grant that I and my family were with you; we should not have been exposed to the fury of our enemies, who rob us of the goods which God hath given to us to the subsistence of our souls and body. I shall not assume to write all the miseries we suffer, which can not be comprehended in a letter, but in many books. I shall tell you briefly, that our temple is condemned, and razed, our ministers banished forever, all their goods confiscated; and, moreover, they are condemned to a fine of a thousand crowns. All the other temples are razed, except the temple of Re and two or three others.

“By an Act of Parliament we are hindered to be masters of any trade or skill. We expect every day the Lord Governor of Guyenne, who will put soldiers into our houses, and take away our children to be offered to the Idol, as they have done in other parts of the country.

“All of us hope for God’s help, to whose providence we submit ourselves.”*

It is well known that about the year 1686 the grantees of Oxford introduced into this plantation thirty families of French Protestants, and that they remained in a body on the same about ten years; that they had erected a meeting-house, and had their minister, who held regular meetings for religious worship with them, for a period of nine years. They also had erected a grist-mill, saw-mill, and a wash leather-mill, and it is believed that they had to some extent commenced the manufacture of tar and turpentine. They had made what they deemed reasonable protection against the assaults of enemies by the erection of two forts as works of defense.

Their advancement in numbers and stability, as an organized town, had become such, in the year 1693, that the General Court of the province passed an act granting the town of Oxford the right to send to the Legislature a representative.

Furthermore, it appears that Gabriel Bernon, a Frenchman from Rochelle, France, had been instrumental in shipping from England many of these French families to Boston, which he did through the information received from Major Robert Thompson, whom he met in England, and who gave

* See Mass. Hist. Collections, vol. II, 3d series, p. 58.

assurance of their receiving land for a plantation. It is evident, also, that the land was furnished them at New Oxford, as then called, and that these French families did settle there, and were of the number that formed the plantation.*

Through the period of the existence of this plantation, Gabriel Bernon was their principal factor and chief reliance for aid, and it is clear that Mr. Bernon expended considerable sums of money there, and that it was through him that all the mills were erected for the encouragement of the settlement.

From all the evidence that has been seen, it is quite certain that the credit of introducing this colony of French Protestants upon the grant for Oxford belongs to Major Robert Thompson and Gabriel Bernon.

Mr. Bernon was a man of considerable distinction in France, having first fled from persecution from the city of Rochelle, to Holland, and from thence to England, where, through an introduction to Major Robert Thompson (then President of the Corporation for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians of New England), by Mr. Teffereau, Treasurer of the Protestant Churches of France, he was induced to give aid to quite a number of these French families to ship themselves to New England. They came to Boston with letters of introduction and credit to the Hon. Joseph Dudley and Hon. William Stoughton, joint grantees for the township of Oxford, with Major Thompson, who took measures to locate them there, and to put them in possession of land in that plantation. Their object, as is stated by Mr. Bernon, was "to come over to New England to settle a plantation for their refuge."†

It appears that there were many families of these French Protestants that arrived at Boston in the summer of 1686.

* See Mass. Hist. Collections, vol. II, 3d series, pp. 61, 67, and 69; also, see Weiss, vol. II, pp. 304-306. Letters of Daniel Bondet, their minister.

† See Mass. Hist. Collections, vol. II, 3d series, pp. 67-69.

Dr. Snow, in his "History of Boston," remarks, in relation to these exiles who came to America: "Those who arrived here probably came in the summer of 1686, for contributions were taken on their behalf at Salem in September of that year." And the Rev. William Bentley, in his "Description of Salem," says: "In September, 1686, twenty-six pounds were contributed for the relief of the French Protestants who came to New England." "Whole families associated in Boston, but not any families at Salem." "The greater part went to the Southern States, particularly to South Carolina." And Mr. Snow further says: "And we also find in Cotton Mather's 'Manuscript Notes of Sermons,' under date of September 12, and October 7, 1686, minutes of discourses by a Mr. Laurie, from the tenor of which it is apparent that he was of the number."*

Also, Mrs. Sigourney, in her "Legends of Oxford," has the following:

"It was in the depth of the winter of 1686 that a ship, tossed by the contending storms, and repeatedly repulsed from the bleak New England coast, was seen slowly entering the harbor of Boston. It was thronged with Huguenot families, who, haggard from the sufferings of their protracted voyage, were eager to obtain repose."

As Mrs. Sigourney gives no authority for this statement as to time of this arrival, it is presumed to be a traditional report.

It is quite certain that during the year of 1686 several vessels arrived at the port of Boston, having as passengers, more or less in number of these French Protestants.

It is inferred from the evidence contained in the foregoing statements and quotations, and the following statement of Gabriel Bernon, that Isaac Bertrand du Tuffeau and some associates were the first of these French families that settled

* See Snow's History of Boston, p. 200; also, Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, vol. vi, 1st series, p. 265, and also vol. ii, 3d series, p. 68; also see Weiss' History of French Protestant Refugees, vol. i, pp. 331, 334, 344, and vol. ii, same, pp. 305-306, 318.

at Oxford, and that from this nucleus was opened the way for others of these French families who were induced, by Messrs. Dudley and Stoughton, to join them to complete the thirty families that were required by the condition in the grant:

“Mr. Bernon states that he was of one of the most ancient families in Rochelle, in France; that, upon the breach of the Edict of Nantes, to shun persecution, he fled to London;* that, upon his arrival, Mr. Teffereau, Esq., Treasurer of the Protestant Church of France, presented him to the Honorable Society for Propagating the Gospel Among the Indians of New England; that Mr. Thompson, the President, offered to install him in the said Society, and offered him land in the government of the Massachusetts Bay; whereupon, Isaac Bertrand du Tuffeau desired him to assist him to come over to New England to settle a plantation for their refuge, which he did, and furnished him means for beginning the settlement.”

“That Du Tuffeau arrived in Boston with letters of credit from Major Thompson and himself, and delivered them to his Excellency, Joseph Dudley, and the Honorable William Stoughton, who granted to the said Du Tuffeau 750 acres of land for him (Bernon), at New Oxford, where he laid out or spent the money he had furnished him; that by letters received from Du Tuffeau he was induced to remove to Boston, shipping himself, his family and servants, with some other families, and paid passage for above forty persons; that on their arrival at Boston, he presented letters from Major Thompson to Dudley and Stoughton, who were pleased, besides the 750 acres that were granted to Bertrand du Tuffeau and to him, to grant him 1,750 acres more, and for a more authentic security, his Excellency was pleased to accompany him to Oxford, to put him into possession of the two thousand and five hundred acres.”

* “Gabriel Bernon was born at Rochelle, in France, April 6, 1644. He was a man of large property, and hereditary register of Rochelle. On account of his religious opinions he was imprisoned two years in that place, and on his release went and lived about a year in Holland; from thence he came to America (came, no doubt, *via* London, and thence to America). He lived first in Boston about ten years, and about same length of time at Newport and Narragansett, and then removed to Providence, and died there, February 1, 1736, aged ninety-two. He was buried under the St. John's church, Providence, with unusual marks of respect. He had ten children by his first wife, eight of whom came to this country with him. By his second wife, Mary Harris, he had four children. While in Holland his daughter, Esther, married Adam Ap. Howell, a Welshman. She died a widow, October 20, 1746, aged sixty-nine. Esther, her daughter, married Judge James Helme; died, March 22, 1764, aged forty-six. The Coddingtons, Whipples, Crawford's, Jenckes, Allens, and Tourtellot families of Rhode Island are connected with the Bernons.” See vol. III, Rhode Island Hist. Soc. Collections, pp. 314-315; also, Arnold's History of Rhode Island, vol. II, p. 116.

In corroboration of the fact of Mr. Bernon's interest in this plantation, that he erected on these lands the grist-mill, saw-mill, and wash-leather-mill, as before related. This was subsequently certified to by William Stoughton, Jeremiah Dumer, Rev. Increase Mather, Governor Usher, Nehemiah Walter, minister; Charles Morton, minister; Peter Daillie, minister of the French church; Benjamin Faneuil, John Butcher, Jacques Mantier, James Beaudoin, Jacques Depau, J. Dupau, Captain Jermon, Andrew Sigourney, John Milleton, Peter Cantau, and several others, besides the widows of John Evans and John Johnson, killed by the Indians.*

"The oldest manuscript that I have seen," says Dr. Holmes, "relating to the settlement of the French colony at Oxford, is an original paper containing articles of agreement between Caleb Church, of Watertown, millwright, and Gabriel Bernon, of Boston, merchant, concluded in March, 1689, by which the said Church covenants and agrees to erect a corn or grist mill in the village of Oxford. This instrument was sealed and delivered in presence of J. Bertrand Du ——— (obscure; no doubt Du Tuffeau), and Thomas Dudley."

"Church's acknowledgment of a receipt in full is signed at Boston, February 4, 1689-90, the witnesses to which were Peter Basset and Gabriel Dupont.

"The contract is endorsed, *Contrat de M. Church pour le Moulin de New Oxford*.

"We can clearly trace the French plantation down to the year 1696, at which time it was broken up by an incursion of the Indians."

There were killed by the Indians, at this time, John Evans, John Johnson, and his three children.

On this dispersion of this French colony from Oxford, it appears that many, if not most of them, returned to Boston.†

* See vol. II, 3d series Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, pp. 67-69.

† See vol. II, 3d series Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, p. 31. Dr. Holmes remarks, "that to the kindness of Mr. Andrew Sigourney, of Oxford, he was indebted for nearly all the valuable materials for his memoir relating to the French colony at Oxford. In aid of his inquiries he made a journey to Providence for the sole purpose of procuring for me the Bernon Papers, which he brought to me at Cambridge. These papers were in the possession of Philip Allen, Esq., of Providence, who married into the Bernon family, and who has since indulged me with the manuscripts to the extent of my wishes."

The first acts of importance of the grantees of Oxford and their associates, after providing the thirty families as permanent settlers for fulfilling the condition upon which the grant was made, was to appropriate the residue of these lands after setting apart the portion allowed for such settlers.

It has been a matter of some interest to know who were all the associates connected with the parties as grantees, viz. : Major Robert Thompson, William Stoughton, and Joseph Dudley. Much research has been had for the map said to have been made from the minutes of the first survey by John Gore, before referred to, and for a map of division, to which Dr. Abiel Holmes referred as having seen while writing his memoirs of this Huguenot settlement, but neither have been found ; and, furthermore, Dr. Holmes has not given the names of the associates, nor the exact description of the plan of division ; but, fortunately, in the month of October, 1872, when at the rooms of the Historical Society of New York, and in the course of some conversation with the Secretary, George H. Moore, Esq., he remarked that he had received from a friend in London a parchment deed of allotment of the lands in the grant for Oxford, Massachusetts, that had been discovered there about three months since.

On receiving and examining this parchment instrument, it was found to contain all the facts, supplying character of survey, the form of plan, showing the exact division among the proprietors, with their names, and that set apart for the settlers, which, as copied, is as follows :

ALLOTMENTS OF LAND IN OXFORD.

(This is a curious document, made and entered into by the original grantees and their associates of this town, defining their rights as proprietors. It is elegantly executed, in the original, on parchment.)

“To all to whom these presents shall come: Joseph Dudley, of Roxbury, in the county of Suffolk, and William Stoughton, of Dorchester, in the said county, Esquires, Major Robert Thompson, of the city of London, merchant, and Daniel Cox, of the same, doctor of physic, and John Blackwell, of Boston, in ye said county of Suffolk, Esquires, send greeting; Whereas, his most gracious Majesty, James the Second, by the grace of God, of England, and Scotland, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, etc., by his grant, under the great seal of his Majesty's territory and dominion of New England, in America, thereunto affixed, and bearing date at Boston, the eleventh day of January, in the third year of his reign, by and with the consent of his Majesty's Council in New England, aforesaid, of his Majesty's special grace, hath given, granted, and ratified, and confirmed, unto the said Joseph Dudley, William Stoughton, Robert Thompson, and Daniel Cox, Esqrs., all that tract of land called and known by the name of Oxford, situate, lying, and being in the Nipmuck country, in the county of Suffolk, within his Majesty's said territory and dominion of New England, in America, beginning at the south-west corner of Worcester town bounds, and running by a line of marked trees south one degree and ten minutes westerly, one thousand four hundred and forty rods, to a tree marked (S. D.), and is the north-most bounds of Manchang farm, and so continue by a line of marked trees, and said farm south fifteen degrees easterly, six hundred and seventy-four rods to a walnut-tree, marked (S. D.), and is the south-west corner of Manchang, aforesaid; and from thence in south by a line of marked trees, west fifteen degrees southerly, fifteen hundred twenty-one rods; and from thence continues in length west five degrees southerly, eighteen hundred and nineteen rods, to a great heap of stones, and a stake in the middle; and is then in breadth, on the west end, by a line of marked trees, north nineteen hundred sixty-eight rods; and from thence in length, on the north side, east twelve degrees northerly, three thousand two hundred and sixteen rods to the south-west corner of the said Worcester town bounds. The whole contained within the said bounds, hills, valleys, swamps and marshes, being 41,245 acres, laid down according to the magnetical variations, being ten degrees thirty minutes from the north-westward, as by the return of the survey and plat thereof doth and may appear; together with all and singular the mesuages, tenements, edifices, buildings, trees, timber, woods, fields, foodings, pastures, marshes, moors, swamps, meadows, ponds, pools, rivers, rivulets, water and water-courses, fishing, fowling, hawkings, and huntings, and all other privileges, profits, benefits, advantages, hereditaments and appurtenances whatsoever, doth said grant of land and premises belonging, or in anywise appertaining. To have and to hold the said premises, with their and every of their appurtenances unto them, the said Joseph Dudley, William Stoughton, Robert Thompson, Daniel

Cox, their heirs and assigns, to the sole and only proper use, benefit and behoof of them, their heirs and assigns forever; yielding, rendering, and paying thenceforth, yearly, and every year on the Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, forever, unto his Majesty, his heirs and successors, the annual rent or sum of five pounds current money in New England, aforesaid, in lieu and stead of all rents, services, dues, duties, and demands whatsoever, for the said grant of land and premises, as in and by the said grant, relation being thereunto had for better certainty thereof, it doth or may more fully and at large appear. And, whereas, the said Joseph Dudley, William Stoughton, Robert Thompson, and Daniel Cox, had heretofore associated and taken unto themselves the fore-named John Blackwell, to become and equally to share with them in one full fifth part of the premises; the whole, in five equal parts, to be divided; to hold to him, the said John Blackwell, his heirs and assigns forever. And, whereas, the said Joseph Dudley, William Stoughton, Robert Thompson, Daniel Cox, and John Blackwell have agreed upon disposing and allotting and setting out the whole premises, as hereinafter particularly expressed or mentioned: that is to say, one lesser tract, being part or parcel of the premises, and lying at or within the east end thereof; beginning at a pine-tree, standing at or upon the utmost part of the south-west angle of the town of Woreester, and thence to be set out by a straight line, running south, one degree and ten minutes west, as far as a tree marked (S. D.) being at or upon the utmost part of the north-west angle of Manchang, being fourteen hundred and forty perches; and thence meeting on the easterly part of the premises by or with the lands of Manchang, aforesaid, south fifteen degrees east, at the whole length of Manchang lands, being six hundred seventy-four perches to a walnut-tree, marked (S.D.), which stands at or upon the outmost part of the south-most angle of the said Manchang lands; and from the said walnut-tree running by a straight line west, fifteen degrees south, nine hundred and ninety-six perches: that is to say, to a white-oak-tree, marked with the lot and the following, viz.: on the easterly side thereof (O. V.), signifying the extreme westerly bounds of Oxford village; on the westerly side thereof with (O.), signifying the easterly bounds of Oxford town, or the Grand Proprietors' lots; and on the north side thereof, with (D. B. S. C. T.), signifying that the dividing line between the said town and village is to be set out in the same course and order, due north for each of the said proprietors, that is to say: The first of the said lots to or for the said Joseph Dudley; the second to or for the said John Blackwell; the fifth of the said lots, lying next to the said second, to or for the said William Stoughton; the fourth, lying next to the said fifth, to or for the said Daniel Cox; and the third of the said lots, lying next to the said fourth, to or for the said Robert Thompson, so that the said white-oak, so marked

and lettered as aforesaid, is to be the south-west angle of the said Oxford village, by running a straight line from the south due north two thousand one hundred eighty-one perches, which is to the northerly bounds of the said whole tract, and from the north end of the said line, by a straight line running east twelve degrees north, eight hundred and seventy-two perches to make a per-close at the fore-mentioned pine-tree, or south-west angle of Worester, where this perambulation began, containing 11,245 acres of the premises granted as aforesaid, be the same more or less, and that the same shall be denominated and called Oxford Village, or the General Plantation, and shall be allotted or otherwise set out, and distributed to and amongst such persons and in such proportions or shares and places within the limits of the said village, as they, the said Joseph Dudley, William Stoughton, Robert Thompson, Daniel Cox, and John Blackwell, or the major part of them, that shall from time to time be resident in New England, and the attorneys or agents of such as shall be authorized thereunto by the absentees, shall think fit by deeds under their respective hands and seals, to the use of such persons, their heirs and assigns forever, to hold to such respective persons, the planters thereof, their heirs and assigns, at and under such yearly quit rents, payable to them, the said Joseph Dudley, William Stoughton, Robert Thompson, Daniel Cox, and John Blackwell, their heirs and assigns, as by them or the major part of them as aforesaid, shall be agreed, limited, and reserved, or mentioned in their respective grants thereof unto such planters; provided always, and excepting and reserving out of the said village unto the parties to these presents, their heirs and assigns, a way of twenty perches in breadth, and two thousand one hundred eighty-one perches in length, from south to north, containing two hundred and sixty-five acres, be the same more or less, with the timber, trees, rivers, waters, appurtenances, and hereditaments, lying on or within the west side of the said Village or General Plantation: To lie in common and undivided unto and amongst the parties to these presents, to their heirs and assigns forever; and the residue and remainder of the said whole tract so granted by his Majesty as aforesaid, unto the said Joseph Dudley, William Stoughton, Robert Thompson, and Daniel Cox (lying west of the said Village or General Plantation), shall be allotted, distributed, and set out in five equal parts, shares, or proportion, for quantity, according to the manner, order, or course of allotments aforesaid, and as hereinafter is more particularly mentioned; and whereas, pursuant to and by the directions of the said Robert Thompson and Daniel Cox, they, the said Joseph Dudley, William Stoughton, and John Blackwell, have caused a survey of the said whole tract of land so granted by his Majesty as aforesaid, to be as exactly as may be taken for ascertaining the bounds thereof, and a plat of the same to be drawn therein, as well as the said lesser tract,

called Oxford Village, or the General Plantation, as five such parts of the residue and remainder of the said whole premises, and each of them, as are severally laid down, delineated, and bounded, and expressed by numbers or capital letters in the order or course aforesaid. And for as much as in regard of the uncertainty of the respective value or worth and goodness of each of the said respective lots, parts, shares, or proportions drawn and laid down as aforesaid; and for as much as the east end of each of them adjoins upon and meers with the common way laid down and taken out of the fore-mentioned Village or General Plantation already begun to be planted (by reason whereof they will each partake of the known benefit redounding to plantations by the neighborhood and countenance of the first planters of such wilderness lands), it seems to be the most equal and indifferent way of laying out and dividing the same in order to the allotting thereof. Now, these presents witnesseth that the said Joseph Dudley, William Stoughton, Robert Thompson, and Daniel Cox, by and with the consent and good liking of the said John Blackwell (testified by his being party to these presents, and perfecting thereof under his hand and seal), and they, all for themselves severally and respectively, and for their several and respective heirs and assigns, do agree and declare that the names of them, the said Joseph Dudley, William Stoughton, Robert Thompson, and Daniel Cox, in the fore-mentioned grant named and used in trust, as well as for the said John Blackwell, his heirs and assigns, for one full fifth part thereof, as for them, the said Joseph Dudley, William Stoughton, Robert Thompson, and Daniel Cox, their several and respective heirs and assigns, for four other several and respective full fifth parts of the same. And they, the said Joseph Dudley, William Stoughton, Robert Thompson, Daniel Cox, severally and respectively, do accordingly covenant, grant, and agree to and with the said John Blackwell, his heirs and assigns, and to and with each other of themselves, severally and respectively, and their several and respective heirs and assigns, by these presents, that the grant aforesaid, made by his Majesty, of all and singular the premises as aforesaid, and all other grants, conveyances, and assurances heretofore had, made, and executed of any premises, or that shall or may at any time hereafter be had, made, or executed by his Majesty, or by them, the said Joseph Dudley, William Stoughton, Robert Thompson, and Daniel Cox, or any of them, or their or any of their heirs or assigns, or any others, shall be and enure, and so shall be construed, deemed, taken, and adjudged in all times hereafter, to be and enure unto them, the said Joseph Dudley, William Stoughton, Robert Thompson, Daniel Cox, and John Blackwell, severally and respectively as for one several fifth part of all and singular the premises to each of them severally and respectively, and to their and every and each of their several and respective heirs and assigns forever; and that the said Joseph Dudley, William

Stoughton, Robert Thompson, and Daniel Cox, and the survivors or survivor of them and their heirs, and the heirs of the survivor of them, shall and will stand and be seized of and in the premises, and every part thereof, in manner and to the several uses, intents, and purposes, and under the conditions, provisions, exceptions, reservations, covenants and agreements in and by these presents set forth, limited, expressed, mentioned, or declared, according to the true intent and meaning of these presents, and to no other use, intent, or purpose whatsoever,—that is to say, the first lot, share, or proportion, as the same is in the fore-mentioned plot expressed and laid down under the denomination of No. 1, containing one fifth part of all and singular the said last-mentioned bigger tract and premises, the whole thereof in five equal parts (for quantity), divided as aforesaid in severalty, to lie and begin at the fore-mentioned white-oak, lettered as aforesaid, being the south-west angle of the fore-mentioned common way, laid down and taken out of the said Village or General Plantation, and to be extended thence west fifteen degrees south by a straight line five hundred and twenty-five perches to the letter H, and thence by a straight line west, five degrees south, six hundred and twelve perches to the letter I, and thence to be continued by the same degrees, twelve hundred and seven perches to the utmost south-west angle of the whole tract to a stake driven in a heap of stones, and thence to run by a straight line due north, three hundred and eighty-nine perches, to the letter A on the west end, and from thence by straight line drawn east seven degrees and a half north, two thousand three hundred and forty-four perches to the letter A on the east end, viz. : to an oaken stake, square, driven in a meadow near the river that runs by and from the French houses, marked D on the south, and B on the north side of the said stake, and from the said letter A on the east end by a line drawn due south, three hundred and eighty-nine perches, to make a per-close thereof at the said white-oak, standing where the ad-measurement of the said first lot began, containing, in the said lot No. 1, six thousand acres, be the same more or less, to the use of him, the said Joseph Dudley, his heirs and assigns for ever. The second lot, or No. 2, to begin at the said square oak stake driven as aforesaid at the north end of the fore-mentioned three hundred and eighty-nine perches, at the letter A on the east end, and to be thence extended by a straight line due north, four hundred and forty-eight perches to the letter B at the said east end, to a stake driven near the north-east angle of Augutte-back Pond, and from thence by a straight line drawn west, nine degrees south, to the letter B on the west end, and from thence by a straight line to be drawn due south, three hundred and ninety-four perches and three quarters of a perch, to make a per-close with the first fore-mentioned lot No. 1, at the letter A on the west end, containing the like quantity of six thousand acres, be the same more or less, to the use of the said

John Blackwell, his heirs and assigns, for ever. The third lot, No. 3, to begin at the north-west angle of the fore-mentioned common way, at the letter C, on the east end, and to be extended thence by a line drawn west, twelve degrees south, to the north-west angle of the said whole grant; two thousand three hundred and forty-four perches, to the letter C on the west end, and from thence by a due south line, three hundred and ninety-four perches and three fourths of a perch to the letter D on the said west end, and thence to turn back by a straight line drawn east, eleven degrees north, to the letter D on the east end, and thence to make a per-close at the letter C on the said east end, by a due north line of four hundred and forty-eight perches, containing the like quantity of six thousand acres, be the same more or less, to the use of him, said Robert Thompson, his heirs and assigns, for ever. The fourth lot, No. 4, to begin at the south-east angle of the last-mentioned lot, No. 3, and from the letter D on the east end to be extended due south four hundred and forty-eight perches to the letter E on the east end, and from thence by a straight line to be drawn west, ten degrees south, to the letter E on the west end, and from thence due north, three hundred and ninety-four perches and three quarters of a perch, to make a per-close with the third fore-mentioned lot at the letter D on the west end, containing the like quantity of six thousand acres, be the same more or less, to the use of the said Daniel Cox, his heirs and assigns, forever. The fifth lot, No. 5, to begin at the south-east angle of the last-mentioned lot, No. 4, at the letter E, on the east end, at a pine stake, with stone about it, marked and lettered with black-lead, viz.: C on the north side, and B on the south, and to be thence extended due south four hundred and forty-eight rods to the letter B on the east end, to the stake driven near the north-east angle of Augutteback Pond aforesaid, and thence to lie westward between the last-mentioned southerly line of the fourth lot, from E aforesaid on the east end to E on the west end, and the fore-mentioned northerly line of the second lot, from the letter B on the east end, to the letter B on the west end, and by a line from the letter B on the west end, to the letter E on the west end, at the length of three hundred ninety-four perches and three quarters of a perch to make a per-close of the fifth lot, containing the like quantity of six thousand acres, be the same more or less, to the use of him, the said William Stoughton, his heirs and assigns, forever. So always, as no matter of claim, demand, benefit, or advantage shall be claimed, or required, or taken by any of the parties to these presents, of, from, or against any of the other parties to the same, who shall happen to die before the executing other several deeds to the said several and respective persons and uses, their heirs or assigns, for or by reason, or upon account of the survivorship of any of the said parties hereunto or under pretense of any joint tenancies therein; provided always, and

excepting and reserving thereout on the east side of the west end of the six hundred and twelve perches, marked by a divisional line between the easterly and westerly moieties of the said grand lot, a way of twenty perches in breadth, from the letter I on the south end to the letter I on the north end, to lie in common and undivided to the general use of the parties to these presents, their heirs and assigns forever; provided also, that two seventh parts of the fore-mentioned fourth lot, granted and allotted as aforesaid, to and for the said Daniel Cox, shall be, according to former agreements, set out unto and for, and held and enjoyed by Thomas Freak, of Hannington, in the county of Wilts, in the kingdom of England, Esquire, by a straight line, to begin at the south-east angle of the fore-mentioned third lot, at the letter D on the east end, and to be thence extended due south one hundred and twenty-eight perches in breadth to the letter E on the east end, and thence to be run by a straight line west, eleven degrees south, to the letter E on the west end, to be thence per-closed with the letter D on the west end, containing in the said subdivision seventeen hundred and fourteen acres, be the same more or less, to the use of the said Thomas Freak, his heirs and assigns, forever; and also, that two other seventh parts of the said lot, afore-mentioned fourth lot, shall be according to assignment of him, the said Daniel Cox, set out by a straight line, to begin at the north-east angle of the afore-mentioned fifth lot at the letter E on the east end, and to be thence extended due north one hundred and twenty-eight perches in breadth, to the letter C on the east end, and thence to be run by a straight line west ten degrees south, with the letter C on the west end. To be per-closed with the letter E on the west end, by a due south line, at the breadth of one hundred and twelve perches and a half a perch, containing in the said subdivision the like quantity of seventeen hundred and fourteen acres, be the same more or less, to the use of him, the said John Blackwell, his heirs and assigns, forever. And, lastly, it is in like manner provided and agreed by and between all the parties to these presents, and they do all of them, for themselves severally and respectively, and for their several and respective heirs and assigns, covenant, promise, and agree to and with each other respectively, and to and with the respective heirs and assigns of each other, that in case the yearly rents that are or shall from time to time become payable to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, for the whole premises, shall not be so laid and levied as to ascertain the due payment thereof, that the same, or whatsoever part thereof shall remain in and due, together with the charges and damages accruing thereby, shall, proportionably to each person's interest and share, be collected amongst them, and paid and borne by them, for the satisfying thereof, and they do, by these presents, severally and respectively bind themselves and their several and respective heirs and assigns to make payment thereof accordingly.

In witness whereof, the parties to these presents first above-named, have hereunto set their hands and seals. Dated the third day of July, in the fourth year of his Majesty's reign, Anno Domini, one thousand six hundred and eighty-eight."

The foregoing instrument is signed by Joseph Dudley, William Stoughton, and John Blackwell, having each a seal attached to the parchment by a loop, with two other seals of the same description for Robert Thompson and Daniel Cox, without their signatures, making five seals attached at the bottom of the parchment like pendants.

It is witnessed by Samuel Witty, Edward Robinson, and William Blackwell, the latter, probably, a relative of Captain John Blackwell, one of the associates; also, it is witnessed by Daniel Bondet, the minister of the French colony, who states in a letter, in another place in this work, that he resided here as the minister of these colonists nine years, and was also employed by the Society for Propagating the Gospel Among the Indians of New England at this place. It has another of the French colonists for a witness, T. B. Du Tuffeau, who, it is related in another place, was the agent of Gabriel Bernon, and one of the first of the colonists who began the French plantation in Oxford village.

This document is valuable otherwise besides showing these signatures as aforesaid, in referring to the French houses that, at this time, in the year 1688, were located near the river, on this Oxford plantation. Altogether, it is the most important paper thus far seen, testifying of the actual French plantation, at this early period, within the limits of this town.

This parchment instrument is about two feet square; a portion written in German text, and the writing otherwise neatly executed. It was found in London in May, 1872, and is now in possession of the New York Historical Society. Permitted to be copied by G. H. Moore, Esq., the secretary.

CHAPTER II.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE BREAKING UP OF THE FRENCH HUGUE-NOT PLANTATION, AND THEIR SUBSEQUENT HISTORY, WITH BRIEF ALLUSION TO OTHER EXILES OF THIS CLASS.

THE assault of the Indians upon this French colony, at New Oxford, as then called, was on the 23d of August, 1696, by the Albany or Western Indians, as it has been stated, but most probably straggling Canadian natives, or some of the escaped fugitives that were engaged in the war of Philip.

On the intelligence of these outrages, and of the appearance of hostile parties near Woodstock, Major James Fitch marched to that town. On the 27th, a party was sent out of thirty-eight Norwich, Mohegan, and Nipmuck Indians, and twelve soldiers, to range the woods towards Lancaster, under Captain Daniel Fitch; on their march they passed through Worcester, and discovered traces of the enemy in its vicinity.

The following letter, of this commander, gives an account of their expedition :

To the Rt. Hon. William Stoughton, Esq., Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief, &c.

“Whereas, we were informed of several persons killed at Oxford, on Tuesday night last past (23d), and not knowing what danger might be near to Woodstock, and several other frontiers towards the western parts of the Massachusetts province, several persons appearing volunteers, both English and Indians, to the number of about fifty (concerning which the bearer, Mr. James Corbin, may more fully inform your Honor), all of which were willing to follow the Indian enemy, hoping to find those that had done the late mischief; in prosecution whereof,

we have ranged the woods to the westward of Oxford, and so to Worcester, and then to Lancaster, and were freely willing to spend some considerable time in endeavoring to find any of the enemy that may be upon Merrimack or Penicook rivers, or anywhere in the western woods; to which end we humbly request your Honor would be pleased to encourage said design, by granting us some supply of provisions and ammunition; and, also, by strengthening us as to anything wherein we may be short in any respect, that so we may be under no disadvantage or discouragement.

“ They may further inform your Honor that on the Sabbath-day (28th), coming at a place called Half-Way River, betwixt Oxford and Worcester, we came upon the fresh tracks of several Indians, which were gone towards Worcester, which we apprehend were the Indians that did the late damage at Oxford; and being very desirous to do some service that may be to the benefit of his Majesty’s subjects, we humbly crave your Honor’s favorable assistance.

“ Herein, I remain your Honor’s most humble servant, according to my ability.*

“ DANIEL FITCH.

“ LANCASTER, 31st August, 1696.”

It appears that the minister of this French colony, while they remained at Oxford, besides attending to the duties as pastor of this people, was employed by the Society for Propagating the Gospel Among the Indians, at this place.

He complained, in the year 1691, to the authorities of Massachusetts, of the sale of rum to the Indians, and its bad effects, and prays that this business may be restrained.

The date of this communication, with a line or two, including the address, is missing; but it is indorsed, “ Mr. Daniel Bondet’s Representation, referring to New Oxford, July 6, 1691.”

He mentions it as upon an

“ Occasion which fills my heart with sorrow, and my life with trouble, but my humble request will be at least before God, and before you a solemn protestation against the guilt of those incorrigible persons who dwell in our place. The rum is always sold to the Indians without

* See Lincoln’s History of Worcester, p. 37; also, for the persons killed, see Dr. Holmes’ Memoir, vol. II, 3d series, Mass. Hist. Collections, p. 60.

order and measure, insomuch that, according to complaint sent to me by Master Dickesteane, with advice to present it to your Honor (to Lieut-Gov. Stoughton, most probably). On the 26th of last month there was about twenty Indians so furious, by drunkenness, that they fought like bears, and fell upon one called Remes—who is appointed for preaching the Gospel amongst them—he had been so much injured by his wounds that there is no hope of his recovery. If it was your pleasure to signify to the instruments of that evil the jealousy of your authority and of the public tranquillity, you would do great good, maintaining the honor of God in a Christian habitation, comforting some honest souls, which, being incompatible with such abominations, feel every day the burden of affliction of their honorable peregrinations aggravated. Hear us, we pray, and so God be with you, and prosper all your just undertakings and applications, is the sincere wish of your most respectful servant,

“DANIEL BONDET,

“*Minister of the Gospel in a
French Congregation, at New Oxford.*”

The above communication was found by Mr. Bradford in the Secretary's Office, State Department, Boston, by a search made at the request of Dr. Holmes, when writing his memoirs of these French Protestants.

In another communication from Mr. Bondet, in 1695, it appears he was a French Protestant minister, who preached to the Indians at that time in this place.*

There is another letter of Rev. Daniel Bondet, at a still later period, which did not come under the notice of Dr. Holmes, that is interesting in this respect. It is evidence as to the time of this small colony's settling at Oxford, and of his services there, and of the cause of the abandonment of the place by them; and is, also, important in explaining who he was, the length of time he served here, and his future services as the minister of the French colony of New Rochelle, in Westchester county, New York.

This was an application to Lord Cornbury, designed, through him, to place himself and his church and society under the

* See vol. II, 3d series of Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, p. 61.

care and protection of the English Missionary Society, known as "*The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*.*

This letter of Mr. Bondet, above referred to, is found in Weiss' "*History of the French Protestant Refugees*," translated from the French by Henry William Herbert. It is introduced in connection with the "*Historical Sketch of the French Settlement of New Rochelle*." He says :

* This society had then but recently been incorporated by the British Parliament for the principal object of propagating the faith and forms of the English church ; the English colonies, wherever located, were made the missionary fields for this purpose. It was composed of men of the first standing and influence in that kingdom, not only clerically, but politically. The grand design was to encourage loyalty and subserviency to authority, but particularly to the British government.

The leading men of England had noticed the tendency to self-government in their American colonies ; and thus the design was to counteract this influence. At first it was thought best to establish literary institutions to mould public sentiment ; and later, the visit of George Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne, to this country, in 1729, had for its object this purpose. The college at Williamsburg, "*The William and Mary*," so named in honor of Queen Mary and her husband, William of Nassau (King William III), established in 1692, was one of the first moves. But the missionary plan, bringing this effort and its means directly in contact with the people, was concluded upon as the best and most effectual way of forming public sentiment.

With this object in view, the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts was established in 1701. Many of the early Episcopal churches in the English colonies in America were founded through the action of this missionary society.

It has been noticed by the writer that the several great missionary societies created in England to operate in the American colonial field, have sometimes been confounded, one with another, when the operations of each had for its motive a distinct purpose, as follows :

The first of these societies was "*The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Among the Indians of New England*." This was originated chiefly through the influence of the leading men in the government in Massachusetts, in connection with the ministers of the Gospel, Edward Winslow, Herbert Pelham, and Major Robert Thompson, acting conspicuous parts in creating public opinion in its favor in England ; the first move for this object was by the General Court of Massachusetts, in 1646, which finally resulted in the act of incorporation of this society by Parliament in 1649.

It was this society that appointed Rev. Daniel Bondet a missionary among the remaining Nipmuck Indians of the Indian town of Manchag, then Oxford village, where he began his labors with both the French colony and these natives in 1687.

At this time Major Robert Thompson, the first named in the grant for Oxford was the president of this society. All contributions in England for this object were transmitted to the Commissioners for the United Confederation of the New England Colonies, who, with great prudence and fidelity, distributed the same.

The third one of these societies, and no less prominent and effective in its missionary efforts, was that created by Presbyterian influence in 1709, styled "*The Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge*." The operations of this society were more widely extended among the natives of the country than either of the two former.

One of its most noticeable efforts was in connection with Rev. Eleazer Wheelock, who was settled as pastor of the Second Congregational Society of Lebanon, in Connecticut, 1735, and had established Moore's Indian Charity School, which led to the founding of Dartmouth college in 1769.

Eleazer Wheelock was born in Windham, Connecticut, in April, 1711 ; died at Hanover, New

“The Rev. Daniel Bondet was their first minister; and, fortunately for our purposes, we have a letter written at that period, 1702, by this earliest Huguenot minister in Westchester county. It is a curious, authentic, and interesting document, translated from the French:

‘To his Excellency, My Lord Cornbury, Governor and Commander-in-Chief:

‘MY LORD,—

‘I most humbly pray your Excellency to be pleased to take cognizance of the petitioner’s condition. I am a French Refugee Minister, incorporated into the body of the Ministry of the Anglican Church; I

Hampshire, April 24, 1779. A graduate of Yale college in 1733. His salary, when settled at Lebanon, was small, and to aid his resources he opened a select school for both English and the native scholars. The proficiency of an Indian boy, a Mohegan by birth, led him to establish a missionary school to advance education and religion among the Indians. This boy was Samson Occom, born in 1723; died at New Stockbridge, New York. 1792. His ability as a preacher was such, that Mr. Wheelock sent him to England in 1766, with Rev. Nathaniel Whitaker, to exhibit his power, and to show the intellectual ability possessed by the native race. Mr. Wheelock had, by the aid of a benevolent gentleman at Lebanon (Mr. Moore), who gave a large dwelling-house and two acres of land, established what was known as “Moore’s Indian Charity School.” This Samson Occom was the first Indian preacher who had visited England; the object being mainly to obtain funds to increase the advantages and usefulness of this school. This effort succeeded beyond the expectation of its promoter; the curiosity to hear this native preacher was great, and had a powerful effect in inducing the benevolent to aid what appeared so good an object, the elevation of the native American race. £10,000 were the result of this labor. Lord Dartmouth was made the President of the English Board for managing these funds; and this enabled Mr. Wheelock, through the donation of 40,000 acres of land by New Hampshire, to establish at Hanover, Dartmouth college, under the charter of December 10, 1769.

Another society, known as the “Moravians,” or “United Brethren,” was established by Count Nicholas Lewis, Lord of Zinzendorf and Pottendorf (who was born at Dresden, May 26, 1700, and died May 9, 1760), in Upper Lusatia, about 1722, at a place known as Herrnhut.

Over his door, the entrance to his house, was this verse:

“As guests we only remain,
And hence this house is slight and plain.
Therefore, turn to the stronghold, ye prisoners of hope!—Zach., ix, 12.
We have a better house above,
And there we fix our warmest love.”

He visited the Danish West India Islands in 1739, where, in 1734, his missionaries had established themselves; and returning to Europe he traveled there extensively, endeavoring by his efforts everywhere to establish his missionaries, whose duty it was, in their efforts in propagating the Gospel, to conform entirely to the simplicity of the primitive apostles; and, as far as possible, to gain a support by their own labors, and to be true followers of the precepts, according to Jesus, as revealed by the new dispensation. The following is a stanza of a hymn composed by him on board of the vessel on his way to America:

“Jesus, thy blood and righteousness,
My beauty are, my glorious dress;
’Midst flaming worlds, in these arrayed,
With joy shall I lift up my head.”

Again, in 1741, he determined to visit the English colonies in America; the previous year he had sent here the Rev. David Nitschman, then bishop, to direct the missionary efforts

removed, *about fifteen years ago*,* into New England, with a company of poor refugees, to whom lands were granted for their settlement, and to provide for my subsistence I was allowed one hundred and five pieces per annum, from the funds of the Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Savages. I performed that duty *during nine years*, with a success approved and attested by those who presided over the affairs of that Province.

‘The murders which the Indians committed in these countries caused the dispersion of our company, some of whom fell by the hands of the barbarians.

‘I remained after that, two years in that Province (1698), expecting a favorable season for the re-establishment of affairs; but, after waiting two years, seeing no appearance, and being invited to remove to this Province of New York by Col. Heathcote, who always evinces an affection for the public good, and distinguishes himself by a special application for the advancement of religion and good order, by the establishment of churches and schools, the fittest means to strengthen and encourage the people, I complied with his request, and that of the company of New Rochelle in this Province, where I passed five years on a

which, in 1738, a number of his followers had planted in Georgia, but removed to Pennsylvania in 1744, and founded the seat of their operations in this country at Bethlehem. He was accompanied by his daughter, the Countess Benigna, then about sixteen years of age. They sailed from Gravesend the 28th of September, and arrived in New York at the end of November. He traveled extensively in the Middle States and into Connecticut, especially among the different tribes of the Indians, and planted his missionaries, who, through their simplicity, gained the friendship of the native race, and brought many to embrace the Gospel. On the 21st of July, 1742, the count came to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, the watch-word for the day being, “This is the day which the Lord hath made; we will rejoice and be glad in it.” And on the 25th following, the anniversary of the presentation of the Augsburg Confessions, the Moravians at Bethlehem, with the aid of Count Zinzendorf, were formed into a church, according to the model of the original church he had formed at Herrnhut. The count preached the first sermon on this occasion, from the words, “Lord, thou knowest all things: thou knowest that I love thee.” Here he remained over the Sabbath.

The churches at Bethlehem and Nazareth have since this time been the central point of this Christian denomination in America.

Again, Count Zinzendorf preached on the 31st of December, 1742, in the newly-erected Moravian church in Philadelphia, which had a great effect upon his hearers. To avoid excitement, he left the assemblage privately, to pursue his journey to New York. His parting address to his friends was delivered at the house of Stephen Benezet, a French Protestant and an exemplary Christian, of Philadelphia, who was much interested in the fervent Christian spirit and simplicity of the count, and heartily engaged in his plans and movements. He sailed from New York in the *James*, June 9, 1743.

The American Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Among the Indians and Others in North America was incorporated in 1787. Governor James Bowdoin was the first president. The American Society for Promoting Knowledge, Piety, and Charity was incorporated in 1805—both in Massachusetts.

* The date of this letter, 1702, in which he says he removed fifteen years ago to New England, will make his settlement at Oxford in 1687, where he remained nine years, which gives 1696 the date the plantation was broken up.

small allowance, promised me by New Rochelle, of one hundred pieces and lodging, with that of one hundred and five pieces which the Corporation continued to me until the arrival of my Lord Bellamont, who, after indicating his willingness to take charge of me and my canton, ordered me thirty pieces in the Council of New York, and did me the favor to promise me, that, at his journey to Boston, he would procure me the continuation of that stipend I had in times past. But having learned at Boston, through M. Nanfau, his lieutenant, that I annexed my signature to an ecclesiastical certificate, which the churches and pastors of this Province had given to *Sieur Delius*, minister of Albany, who had not the good fortune to please his late lordship, his defunct Excellency cut off his thirty pieces which he had ordered me in the Council at York, deprived me of the Boston pension of twenty-five pieces, writing to London to have that deduction approved, and left me, during three years last past, in an extreme destitution of the means of subsistence.

‘ I believe, my lord, that in so important a service as that in which I am engaged, I ought not to discourage myself, and that the Providence of God which does not abandon those who have recourse to His aid by well-doing, would provide in His time for my relief.

‘ Your Excellency’s equity, the affection you have evinced to us for the encouragement of those who employ themselves constantly and faithfully in God’s service, induces me to hope that I shall have a share in the dispensation of your justice, to relieve me from my suffering, so that I may be aided and encouraged to continue with my flock, and to pray God for the preservation of your person, your illustrious family, and the prosperity of your government.

‘ Remaining your Excellency’s humble and respectful servant,*

‘ DANIEL BONDET.’ ”

This letter was referred to Colonel Heathcote for examination into the merits of the request, who made a favorable report. The substance was as follows :

“ His field of Christian labor among the Indians was at a place called New Oxford, near Boston, with a salary of £25 per annum. During, this mission Gov. Wm. Stoughton, Rev. Increase Mather, with others certify that he, with great faithfulness, discharged his duty, both in

* The Huguenots bought 6,000 acres of land at New Rochelle, in Westchester county, in September, 1689. Their meeting-house was built in 1692-’93, and their first minister was Rev. David Bonrepose, D. D.; the Rev. Daniel Bondet was his successor.

reference to Christians and Indians, and was of an unblemished life and conversation.”*

In 1705 Colonel Heathcote recommended him to the friendly notice of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. He styled him

“A good man, who preaches very intelligibly in English, which he does every third Sunday in his French congregation, when he uses the liturgy of the church. He has done a great deal of service since his first coming into this country, and is well in the thoughts of the society.”

This religious society, in New Rochelle, in 1709, changed from the forms of the French Protestant church, essentially of the Presbyterian order, to that of the English church, as then established by law in the colony of New York. Mr. Bondet showed himself a sensible man in conforming to circumstances in matters of form in worship, where there was no violation of principle.

In 1710 Governor Hunter gave license for building a new church edifice, for this society, which was constructed of stone. Rev. Daniel Bondet died in 1722, greatly lamented by his people, and was buried beneath the chancel of his church. He served here nearly twenty-five years, and, including his service at New Oxford and Boston, thirty-five years. He gave his library, of 400 volumes, to the church.”†

* Colonel Caleb Heathcote was for many years an influential man in the colony of New York; he came into the colony in 1690, was a member of Lord Cornbury's council in 1693, and Colonel of Westchester county militia. It appears that he was a merchant of distinction, and active in the cause of religion. He was active in establishing Trinity church, the first of the order of the church of England in New York.

The first house of worship for Trinity church, New York, was erected in 1696. The service of the church of England was introduced here by the chaplain of the English governor, immediately after the surrender of the Dutch, in 1664. It being simply a government establishment, and not favored by the old inhabitants, this order gained but slowly.

Having erected their church edifice, and finished it at the close of 1696, Rev. William Vesey, a graduate of Harvard university, was their first rector. He performed divine service in the new building, the first time, February 6, 1697, and continued the rector till his death, the 11th of July, 1746, during a period of fifty years.

† See Weiss, vol. II, pp. 304-308; also, Smiles' *Huguenots of America*—the latter part, by G. P. Disosway, p. 432.

The evidences, at this day, that exhibit traces of the labors of this small colony of French exiles, while residing at Oxford, are but few ; and those the mounds upon Mayo's hill, represented by tradition as the remains of earth-works that formed, in their time, a fort, erected for a defense against the encroachment of the natives, or other enemies. Besides the remains of this fort, a few grape-vines, and some ancient fruit-trees, supposed to have been placed there by their hands, there is nothing now to show that such a people were ever here as inhabitants.

Their dwellings, their water-mills, the meeting-house, where these exiles assembled to hear their pastor, the pious Bondet, speak of spiritual affairs, and those things which concerned their present and future welfare, all, like themselves, have passed from human vision, and whatever pertained to their labors here is now incorporated with the soil, which, at one time, they claimed as their plantation. Even the mounds that once indicated the place where they deposited their dead have ceased to mark the place where those once living and loved ones were laid to rest.

The ploughman has passed his share over these once sacred grounds, and nothing appears, save the common field of the husbandman.

Tradition points to the place of the ancient meeting-house and the lot set apart by them as the burial-place for their dead, and that is all the evidence that such were ever in existence.

The hill, where are some mounds that indicate the remains of what are supposed to have once been part of a work of defense, called "The Fort," located on a farm called Mayo's, is about one mile from the railroad depot in Oxford village, in a southerly direction.

The late Mr. Andrew Sigourney, living at the time Dr. Abial Holmes visited here to procure facts for his memoirs of

these exiles, represented to him that he thought this Fort Hill farm was once the property of his ancestors.*

Dr. Holmes measured the fort, and found its length thirty-five paces, and breadth twenty-five. Within the fort on the east side, he discovered signs of a well, and, on inquiry, was informed that a well had recently been filled up there.

On a second visit to the fort, in September, the same year, he was accompanied and aided in his researches by the Rev. Mr. Brazer, then a professor at Harvard university. "They traced the lines of the bastions of the fort, and were regaled with the perfumes of the shrubbery and the grapes, then hanging in clusters on vines supposed to have been planted by the Huguenots."

Everything here, Mr. Mayo informed them, had been left as he found it. They next went in search of the "Johnson Place," memorable for a massacre in the year 1696. Mr. Peter Shumway, a very aged man of French descent, who lived about thirty rods distant from the location of the "Johnson House," showed them the spot. It is a considerable distance from the village, on the north side of the road to Dudley, and is now overgrown with trees. There were no relics

* This Mr. Andrew Sigourney was born at Boston, November 30, 1752; he was married to Elizabeth Wolcott (probably daughter of Josiah Wolcott, resident at Oxford, who married the daughter of Rev. John Campbell, the first minister), July 26, 1787; she died at Oxford, March 20, 1829, aged sixty-seven; and her husband, Mr. Sigourney, died, April 16, 1838, aged eighty-seven. He came from Boston to Oxford in 1784, and engaged in trade with Mr. James Butler, his brother-in-law, who had married his sister, Mary, the daughter of his father by a former wife (Mary Waters). He was in business with Mr. Butler ten years, in a store near the present Town House. He then moved to Oxford Plain, and continued business about thirty years longer. His ancestor, who came from France, was named Andrew, (and his son, Andrew, married Mary Germaine, and had five children—three sons—Andrew, Anthony, and Daniel, and two daughters; one married Martin Brimer, of Boston, and the other, Samuel Dexter;) his daughter, Susan, married John Johnson, killed by the Indians, with his three children, at Oxford; she escaped, and married for her second husband, Daniel Jhonnot, her cousin, of Boston, and settled there.

Anthony, above, son of Andrew, the second, was born at Boston, August 17, 1713, and married Mary Waters, of Salem, April 10, 1740, and had a daughter, Mary, who married James Butler. This Anthony married, for his second wife, widow Elizabeth Breed; their children were—Andrew, born at Boston, November 20, 1752, the subject of this notice, and Anthony; time of his birth not given; but it appears there was a son by the first wife, Mary Waters, named Peter, who married a Miss Celia Loring.

found here. Mr. Shumway informed Dr. Holmes, in 1825, that he was in his ninety-first year, that his great grandfather was from France, and that the plain on which he lived was known as "Johnson's Plain."

By information received from Captain Andrew Sigourney, they called on Captain Humphrey, of Oxford, who said his parents told him there was a fort on the land on which he now lives, and also a French meeting-house and burying-ground. He had seen stones lying on the top of graves there in the manner turfs are usually placed on new graves.

This Captain Ebenezer Humphrey pointed out to Dr. Holmes, in 1825, the place where this fort, the meeting-house, and burying-place, were located.

He said his grandfather was from England, and his father was from Woodstock, and came to Oxford to keep garrison. He himself now lives where his father formerly resided, which is about half a mile west from Oxford village.

His house is near a hill, standing upon a small stream that runs on the left, near the great road leading to Norwich. The fort stood about sixty rods from his house, and near it was the lot on which were the meeting-house and burying-ground. No remains of either were visible.

He pointed to a depression in the ground where a well once was, that had been filled up. It was at the place where formerly was the fort. In this lot was an apple-tree, which, he said his father told him, the French set out. His father was seventy years old when he told him this, and he himself, was then twenty years of age. He said one of his oldest sisters remembered seeing the old "Horse Block" that stood near the French church.

This Humphrey farm is near the foot of Mayo's hill, where were the ruins of the other fort.

Except the fort on Mayo's hill, there is nothing that now remains to bear testimony of this early colony, but the name

of the stream of water that passes through this town, called "French River." The ever-destroying hand of time may ere long obliterate the remains of this ancient fort, the work of the hands of this interesting people; but so long as the descending rains continue to refresh and fertilize the soil which they once tilled, this stream will flow through this land, and its name, French river, will remain a perpetual memorial that these exiles, through persecutions, once dwelt upon its borders. The waters of Baggachoag, that rise in Worcester, together with other waters from Leicester, it is believed, form the principal sources of this river.* It passes thence through Auburn, Oxford, and Dudley, and, entering Connecticut, it soon unites with the Quinebaug river, which has its source in Brimfield and Wales, in Hampden county, Massachusetts, and Union, in Connecticut; and passing through Holland, Sturbridge, Southbridge, and Dudley, it enters the west part of Thompson, Connecticut; and, receiving the French river, it passes south through several towns; and at Norwich unites with the Shetucket, and forms the Thames, which enters Long Island sound at New London.

Dr. Holmes relates an interview he had with Mrs. James Butler, before mentioned (a descendant from the Sigourney family), to whom he had an introduction by her daughter, Mrs. Campbell, wife of the inn-keeper. Mrs. Butler was then in her seventy-fifth year. Her maiden name was Mary Sigourney, great granddaughter of the Mr. Andrew Sigourney, who came from the city of Rochelle, France.

"Her great grandmother died on the passage, leaving an infant only six months old, who was the grandmother of Mrs. Butler; and another daughter, Mary Cazneau, who was then six years of age."

* See the Worcester Magazine and Historical Journal, vol. I, p. 90. It is to be regretted that this valuable work extended to only two volumes, from October, 1825, to October, 1826. It was edited and published by Wm. Lincoln, Esq., the historian of Worcester, and Christopher C. Baldwin, then the librarian of the American Antiquarian Society.

“This information Mrs. Butler received from her grandmother, who lived to about the age of eighty.”

“The Refugees left France in 1684 or 1685, with the utmost precipitancy. The great grandfather of Mrs. Butler, Mr. Germaine, gave the family notice that they must go. They came off with secrecy, with whatever clothes they could put on themselves and children, leaving the pot boiling over the fire.”

“When they arrived at Boston, they went directly to Fort Hill, where they were provided for until they moved to Oxford. They built a fort on Mayo’s hill, on the east side of French river, and tradition says another fort was built on the west side. She says she believes they had a minister with them. Mrs. Johnson,* the wife of John Johnson, who was killed by the Indians here, in 1696, was a sister of the first Andrew Sigourney.”

“Her husband, returning from Woodstock while the Indians were massacring his family, was shot down at his own door. Mr. Sigourney, hearing the report of guns, ran to the house and seized his sister, pulled her out of the back door, and took her over French river, which they waded through, and fled towards Woodstock, where there was a garrison. The Indians killed the children by dashing them against the jambs of the fire-place.”

“Mrs. Butler thought the French were at Oxford eighteen or nineteen years. Her grandmother, who was brought over an infant, was married and had a child while at Oxford.”

“This fact would lead us to believe that the Sigourney family returned to Oxford after the fear of the Indians had subsided. It is believed in Oxford that a few families did return. These families may have returned again to Boston in about nineteen years from the time of their first settlement in Oxford, agreeably to Mrs. Butler’s opinion, in which case the time coincides with that of the erection of the first French church in Boston, in 1704–’05. These relations of Mrs. James Butler were given in 1819. She died in 1823, aged eighty-one. Mrs. Butler resided in Boston until the American Revolution, and soon afterwards removed to Oxford. Her residence at both places rendered her more familiar with the history of these colonists. She says they prospered in Boston after they were broken up at Oxford.” †

* Mrs. Johnson, widow of John Johnson (who, with his three children, were killed by the Indians), formerly Susan Sigourney, after they moved to Boston, married Daniel Johonnot. Their children were: Andrew, who married the daughter of Anthonie and Mary Oliver, Huguenots, of Rochelle, and Mary Annie, who married James Bowyer; also, Zachariah Johonnot, who became a wealthy merchant; died in 1784, aged eighty-three. Andrew died, June 1, 1760, and Mary Annie died, May 22, 1747. Thus the Sigourneys, Johonnots, Olivers, Johnsons, La Barrons, and the Bowyers, were relatives and descendants of the Huguenots.

† Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, vol. II, 3d series, pp. 76–78.

As a corroboration of Mrs. Butler's opinion as to the continuation of the French Protestants at Oxford, after the murders by the Indians in 1696, there is the letter of Governor Joseph Dudley, dated at "Boston, July 7, 1702," addressed to Gabriel Bernon, in which he says :

"Herewith you have a commission for Captain of New Oxford. I desire you forthwith to repair thither and show your said commission, and take care that the people be armed, and take them in your *own house*, with a palisade, for the security of the inhabitants; and if they are at such a distance in your village that there should be need of another place to draw them together in case of danger, consider of another proper house, and write me, and you shall have order therein.

"I am, your humble servant,

J. DUDLEY."

This letter is ample evidence that a portion of the French colony did return to Oxford for a time. Both Dudley and Bernon had a direct interest pecuniarily for restoring that colony : Dudley, to advance the value of the 6,000 acres, his share in the division of lands there, as made by the several grantees and their associates in 1688. And Gabriel Bernon's interest was much greater, as, besides 2,500 acres he had given him in that part of the grant set apart by said grantees and associates, and called Oxford village, he had expended a large amount of money in the erection of several mills for different purposes, and thus he was induced to erect the block house for the protection of such of the colonists as he could induce to return, which house Dudley refers to when he says "*take them in your own house.*"

This house was not for a personal residence of Mr. Bernon, as it appears quite conclusive that he never resided at Oxford, but acted as factor, and, no doubt, for a time regarded it an advantageous investment, so long as the colony remained there intact, up to the time of the massacre. Subsequently, by the entire abandonment of the plantation for a year or more, it became then an object of interest to protect and save, as far as possible, the large expenditure he had previously made ;

thus, we find him now appointed a captain, with authority to use his efforts to provide for the protection of such of the colonists or others that could be induced to continue the settlement there; and, with this design, it appears he did much to encourage settlers to go and remain, and built for their protection a house surrounded with palisades; it also appears by Mr. Dudley's letter that there were some of these settlers there in 1702; but whatever number might have returned for a time, it is clear, by the proclamation of Dudley and his associates in 1713, that when preparing for the English settlement, there was then an entire abandonment of this plantation by the French, as he says:

“The said French families have many years since wholly left and deserted their settlement in said village.”

Mr. Bernon moved to Rhode Island in 1698, and he, no doubt, after considerable expense in his endeavors to save some portion of his investments here, found it to cost more time and money than all he could save was worth. Then, again, his distance from the plantation, and without roads, made it difficult for him to give the plantation such attention as was necessary to secure any reasonable degree of prosperity; thus he, no doubt, came to regard the effort as a profitless adventure, and finally abandoned all his expenditures at Oxford for improvements, and held simply the 2,500 acres of the land that had at first been granted him by the proprietors for his encouraging the original plantation. By this abandonment by Gabriel Bernon (which is clear, by his own representations, as related by Dr. Holmes in his memoirs of those French settlers), the plantation became wholly deserted, as set forth in the proclamation by Dudley and others.

When the few French planters did return, after their first abandonment, is not certain; but it is inferred, from such facts as have been discovered, that it was in the year 1699, about two or three years after the massacre in 1696. That there

was an abandonment for two years is evidenced by the letter of Rev. Mr. Bondet, addressed to his excellency, Lord Cornbury, Governor of New York, in 1702, after he had settled with the French colony at New Rochelle, in Westchester county, New York, quoted herein, wherein he says :

“He remained at Boston two years, expecting a favorable season for the establishment of affairs, but seeing no appearance, and being invited to this province,” etc.

Thus, by this letter, there was no appearance of a return to re-establish the plantation in 1697 and 1698 ; but, from a letter to Lord Bellamont by the successor of Mr. Bondet, the Rev. James Laborie, setting forth that,

“The Rev. Mr. Bondet, their former minister, had not only left them, but carried away all ye books which had been given for ye use of the plantation, with ye acts and papers of this village,” etc.,

it would appear that, if some of the first planters had not already returned, there was a design for its re-establishment ; and that, by the evidence of the letter of Mr. Dudley to Gabriel Bernon in 1702, it is clear that, for a time, some of these planters did return, and were under the care of Mr. Bernon, though what length of time they remained after this return, or what numbers were there for this attempt for its establishment, is not explained ; but it is sufficiently proved that there were none of the French planters on the Oxford plantation for some years before its resettlement by the thirty families of English settlers in 1713.

Dr. Holmes, after reciting all the incidents relating to the remains of the old fort, and the recollections of the Johnson House, the meeting-house, and the burying-ground, further adds :

“Of this interesting place we feel reluctant to take leave without some token of remembrance, besides the mere recital of facts, some of which are dry in detail, while many others are but remotely associated with it. Were any monumental stone to be found here, other memorials

were less necessary. Were the cypress or the weeping-willow growing here, nothing might seem wanting to perpetuate the memory of the dead. Any contributions of the living, even at this late period, towards supplying the defect, seem entitled to preservation."

In 1822 Dr. Holmes received a manuscript poem on the French exiles, superscribed "Oxford," anonymous, but apparently from a female pen :

"It was of considerable length, and not equally sustained throughout; but the tender and respectful regard shown by the writer to those excellent pilgrims, who left 'not a stone to tell where they lie,' and her just reflections upon the value of religious liberty, and the iniquity and horrors of tyranny, entitle her to high estimation. Many lines do honor to her genius, and all of them to her sensibility. If she is a descendant of the Huguenots, this is a tribute of filial piety; if not, it is an oblation of generous sympathy. The same year a letter was also received from a lady, well known to our literary community, inclosing a practical tribute to the memory of the Huguenots of Oxford, which is not less worthy of her pen than of her connection. Her marriage with a worthy descendant of one of the first French families that settled in Oxford fairly entitles her to the subject, which her pen will perpetuate should the memoir be forgotten. A leaf of the grape-vine was inclosed in the letter, which has this conclusion :

" 'We received great pleasure from our visit to Oxford; and as we traced the ruins of the first rude fortress erected by our ancestors, the present seemed almost to yield in reality to the past.

" 'I send you a leaf from the vine, which still flourishes in luxuriance, which, I am sorry to say, resembles our own natives of the woods a little too strongly; something beside I also send you, which savors as little of the muse's inspiration as the vine in question does of foreign extraction; but, if poetical license can find affinities for the latter, I trust your goodness will extend its mantle over the infirmity of the former.'*

"Lines by Mrs. L. Huntley Sigourney,† on visiting a vine among the

* Dr. Abiel Holmes, a native of Woodstock, Connecticut, son of Dr. David Holmes, a graduate of Yale college, in 1783, was pastor of a church in Midway, Georgia, from 1785 to 1791, and was settled at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1792, and pastor there till 1832; his first wife was daughter of President Stiles, of Yale; his second, daughter of Judge Oliver Wendell, and mother of Dr. O. W. Holmes, a noted author. He died at Cambridge, June 4, 1837, aged seventy-three.

† Mrs. Sigourney, formerly Lydia Huntley, was born at Norwich, Connecticut, in 1791; was the only child of her parents. She was married to Charles Sigourney, a merchant, of Hartford, in 1819. Her husband encouraged her literary taste. She wrote, with extraordinary ability, both prose and verse. She moved to Hartford in 1815, and afterwards made

ruins of the French fort at Oxford, Massachusetts, supposed to have been planted by the Huguenots, who made settlements at that place when they fled from their native country, after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685:

POEM.

“ Say, did thy germ e’er drink the fostering dews
Of beauteous Languedoc?—Didst thou unfold
Thy latent fibre ’neath the genial skies
Of smiling Rousillon?—or fragrant hang
In purple cluster from some fruitful vine
Of fair Rochelle?—Perchance thy infant leaves
Have trembled at the bitter sigh of those
Whom Tyranny oppressed, or shuddering caught
That silent tear which suffering Virtue sheds
In loneliness—that tear which witnesseth
To the high Judge. Not by rash, thoughtless hands
Who sacrifice to Bacchus, pouring forth
Libations at his altar, with wild songs
Hailing his madden’d orgies, wert thou borne
To foreign climes—but with the suffering band
Of pious Huguenots didst dare the wave,
When they essay’d to plant salvation’s vine
In the drear wilderness. Pensive they mark’d
The everlasting forest’s gloomy shade,
The uncultur’d vale, the snow-invested heath,
Track’d by the vengeful native; yet to rear
Their temple to the Eternal Sire, and pay
Unfetter’d homage to His name were joy;
Though on their hymn of praise the desert howl’d,
The savage arrow scath’d them, and dark clouds
Involv’d their infant Zion, yet they bore
Toil and affliction, with unwavering eye
Fix’d on the heavens, and, firm in hope sublime,
Sank to their last repose. Full many a son
Among the noblest of our land looks back
Through Time’s long vista, and exulting claims
These as his sires. They sleep in mouldering dust.
But thou, fair Vine, in beauteous verdure bloom’st,
O’er Man’s decay. Wooing thy tendril green

that place her residence. She visited Europe in 1840, and died at Hartford, June 10, 1865. She published fifty-six distinct works, and contributed more than 2,000 articles, in prose verse, to different periodicals.

Springs the wild rose, as if it fain would twine
 Wreaths for its native soil. And well it may;
 For here dwell Liberty and laurel'd Peace,
 Lending to life new lustre, and with dews
 Etherial bathing Nature's charms. The child
 Of Poverty feels here no vassalage, nor shrinks
 From Persecution's seourge. The simplest hind—
 Whether he homeward guide his weary team
 Beneath the evening star, or whistling lead
 To pastures fresh, with morn, his snowy sheep—
 Bears on his brow, in deepen'd characters,
 Knowledge is power. He, too, with filial eye
 Uncheck'd, undim'd, marks blest Religion come,
 In simple mildness, binding on the heart
 Her laws of love, gilding each gather'd cloud
 Of varied sentiment, that o'er the dust
 Of earth's low confine hangs, with beams serene,
 From that bright sun which shall hereafter blend
 All fleeting shades in one effulgent smile
 Of immortality."

It has been shown that their first minister, who resided with them many years at Oxford, was Rev. Daniel Bondet, who, with most of this small colony, fled to Boston, where they continued a number of years a distinct body, having a religious society of their own. Rev. Mr. Bondet soon left them and settled at New Rochelle, in New York, as has been related; but, previous to his leaving this people, they had arranged for another pastor, the Rev. Peter Daillie.

Mr. Daillie had for several years been the pastor over the French church at New Paltz, in Ulster county, New York, which had been established the 22d of January, 1683; from this date to the time of his leaving for Boston, in 1696, he had divided his services between the church at New Paltz and the French church at New York, having served there thirteen years, before his removal to Boston.*

* See Historical Sketch of the Church at New Paltz, by their present pastor, the Rev. Charles H. Stitt, D. D.

Some of the Huguenot families which composed this settlement came from the Palatinate

Dr. Cotton Mather, in giving an account of the Christian congregations in New England, in the year 1696, mentions, among the churches in the town of Boston, a French congregation of refugees, under the pastoral care of Monsieur Daillie. Mr. Snow, in his "History of Boston," refers to this passage in the "Magnalia," and says it is the first notice of the French church. This was the year the French colony abandoned Oxford. Thus it appears that Rev. Mr. Daillie commenced his pastorate directly after he left New Paltz; and it is probable that Rev. Mr. Bondet was waiting a mission among the Indians again, and that those of his French parishioners, who came from Oxford, joined with those residents of Boston in worship under Mr. Daillie.

The French church, during the lifetime of Rev. Peter Daillie, worshipped in one of the large school-houses. They had purchased a lot on *School street* for a church, January 4, 1704. Their deed is from James Mears, hatter, to John Tartarian, Francis Bredan, and John Dupee, elders of the French church, in consideration of the sum of £110 current silver money of New England; all that tract or parcel of land bounded northerly by school-house land, so called, where it measures in front forty-three and a half feet, easterly thirty-six feet, westerly eighty-eight and a half feet, sontherly thirty-five and a half feet, to erect and build a church upon, for the use of the French congregation in Boston aforesaid,* to meet therein for the worship and service of Almighty God, according to the way and manner of the Reformed churches in France. On the 7th of February, 1705, John Portree, Francis Bredan, and John Dupee, petitioned the selectmen for

in Germany. Some came here as early as 1660. They sympathized with their Dutch associates, who were always tolerant in matters of religion.

The main body of the members of this settlement at New Paltz, came in 1677, when they bought by deed from the Indians, this beautiful secluded region among the mountains on the west side of Hudson river, about seventy miles from New York city.

* See C. Mather's *Magnalia*, vol. i, chap. vii, pp. 90; also Snow's *History of Boston*, p. 200.

license to erect a wooden building for a meeting-house, of thirty-five by thirty feet, on the aforesaid piece of land. It was judged not convenient to grant the same, since they have the offer of the free liberty to meet in the new school-house, as they had for some years past done in the old, and that being sufficient for a far greater number of persons than doth belong to their congregation. A brick building was probably erected in 1716; it is mentioned by Cotton Mather in January, 1717.* This church stood on their land on School street. The descendants of the founders of this house (says Mr. Pemberton, “the late respected antiquary of Boston”), as they formed new connections, gradually dropped off. Those who remained were few in number, and the support of a minister was an expense they could not well continue.†

The Rev. Mr. Daillie’s death was announced to the public by a notice in the *Boston News Letter*, the first newspaper published in the English colonies in America (the first issue of this paper was on the 24th of April, 1704; it was published by John Campbell, a Scotchman, who was a bookseller, and the post-master of Boston ‡), and was as follows:

“Boston, May 23d, 1715.—On Monday morning last, the 20th current, died here the Rev. Mr. Peter Daillie, pastor of the French congregation, aged about 66 years. He was a person of great piety, charity, affable and courteous behavior, and of an exemplary life and conversation, much lamented, especially by his flock, and was decently interred on the Lord’s Day evening, the 22d instant.”

“By his ‘Will’ he required that his body should be decently interred, according to the discretion of his executor, Mr. James Bowdoin, with this restriction, that there be no wine at his funeral, and no mourning to his wife’s relations, except gloves. All the ministers of the town, together with Mr. Walter, were presented with gloves and scarfs. His books were given to form a library for the church and £100 for the benefit of the minister, and £10 to be put to interest until the church should erect a meeting-house, when it was to be appropriated towards the ex-

* See Snow’s History of Boston, p. 201.

† See Mass. Hist. Collections, vol. II, 3d series, p. 63.

‡ See Thomas’s History of Printing, vol. II, p. 191.

pense of the same. He remembered his brother, Paul Daillie, Vangelade, in Amsfort, in Holland, and signs himself 'Daillie,' omitting his baptismal name of Peter."

He was buried in the Granary burying-ground in Boston (fronting on Tremont street). His grave is nearly in the centre of the yard. The memorial stone at the head of the grave has the following epitaph :

"Here lies ye body of ye
Reverend Mr. Peter Daillie,
Minister of the French Church in Boston,
Died ye 21st of May, 1715,
In the 67th year of his age."

Rev. Peter Daillie had buried two wives. His first wife, Esther Latonice, died, December 14, 1696. His second wife, Seike, died, August 31, 1713; and he left a third, a widow, whose name was Martha.

The graves of his wives are near his own, and around these graves are many others, apparently French—Basset, Mian, Garrett, Paliere, Sabin, Berrey, etc.

Three paces distant from Rev. Mr. Daillie's grave is that of Josiah Franklin, the father of Dr. Benjamin Franklin. Inscribed on the memorial stone is :

"J. F., born 1655, d. 1744.
A. F., born 1667, d. 1752."

Rev. Mr. Daillie's successor was the Rev. Andrew Le Mercier, whose name is found on the town records in 1719. He published a church history of Geneva, in 1732, from which it appears that he was educated in that country. His church did not increase in numbers sufficiently to enable them to support the expense of a separate house of worship, and on that account the society was discontinued.

On the 7th of March, 1748, the proprietorship of their meeting-house on School street was transferred to several gentlemen as trustees of a new Congregational church. This

transfer was made by Stephen Boutineau, only surviving elder, Zach. Johonnot, Jean Arnault, John Brown, Andrew Johonnot, James Packonett, William Bowdoin, Andrew Sigourney, members, and M. Le Mercier, their minister. The Rev. M. Le Mercier, after this, resided for a time at Dorchester, but returned again to Boston, and died there, March 31, 1764, in the seventy-second year of his age. One of his daughters and Mr. Z. Johonnot were executors of his "*Will.*"

A large folio Bible, in French, with a commentary, was presented to this French Protestant church by Queen Anne.

This was purchased at the sale of the late Dr. Byles' library, and it is said now to be in a library in Boston, retained as a curious relic of the ancient French Protestant church formerly in that city.

In tracing the history of the Brick Meeting-House, before mentioned, that was erected by these French Protestants, it appears that they sold it to a Congregational society for £3,000, for the sole use of a Protestant church, of which the Rev. Andrew Crowell was pastor; installed in 1748. He died, April, 1785, aged seventy-seven.

This house was next used as a Roman Catholic chapel. Mass was first performed in it, November 2, 1788, by a Romish priest. The Rev. John Thayer, a native of Boston, having embraced the Roman Catholic religion, and received orders at Rome, began his pastorate over the first Roman Catholic society in that city, in 1790. In 1792 the Rev. Dr. Francis A. Matignon arrived at Boston, and, in 1796, was joined by Rev. John Cheverus, afterwards Bishop of Montauban, in France. Upon their united application to the Protestants, a generous contribution was made; a lot was purchased in Franklin place, and a Roman Catholic church built on the same, which was dedicated in 1803.*

* See Mass. Hist. Collections, vol. II, 3d series, pp. 63-64; also see Snow's History of Boston, pp. 201-202.

The French meeting-house on School street was taken down, and a Universalist church built near the place where it stood. It is curious to note the difference in religious faith of those who have worshipped on the ground of this old French Protestant church. It is remarkable that this church, built by French Protestants, who had fled their country from the persecution of the Roman Catholics, was the first to receive the Roman Catholics who fled from France through the persecution of the Jacobins; and, furthermore, that the same Roman Catholics who were noted for their persecution of the Protestants, should, through the aid for which they appealed to them, be enabled to buy the ground and to erect the first Romish church in the Puritan city of Boston.*

The following, relating to the memorial stones which designated the place of interment of the Rev. Peter Daillie, in the Granary burying-ground, appeared in the *Boston Transcript*, of June 4, 1860:

“It appears that for many years the place of Rev. Mr. Daillie’s burial was lost by means of the removal of the head-stone to the grave, by some means not known, and by the covering up of the foot-stone by accumulations of earth.

“But both have recently been discovered and restored to their former positions, and now mark, as they were first designed, the last resting-place of the remains of this noted and once much-respected minister of the exiled Huguenot residents of Boston.”

* See Pemberton’s Description of Boston, Mass. Hist. Society Collections, vol. III, 1st series, p. 264; also, Snow’s History of Boston, pp. 340-418.

The Catholic church on Franklin place received the name of “The Church of the Holy Cross,” and was dedicated, September 29, 1803, by Bishop John Carroll, of Baltimore, the first bishop in this country, consecrated to the office, August 15, 1790; died in 1815. The Catholics of Boston and vicinity were formed into a diocese in 1808; John Cheverus, consecrated bishop, November 1, 1810, translated to Montauban, thence to Bordeaux, and made Cardinal Archbishop, and died, July 19, 1836. Right Rev. Benedict J. Fenwick, consecrated, November, 1825, died, August 11, 1846. Right Rev. Bishop Fitzpatrick, consecrated, March 24, 1844, died, February 13, 1866. Right Rev. Joseph Williams, D. D., consecrated, March 11, 1866, is present bishop. Rev. John Thayer bequeathed by his will money for the erection of an Ursulin convent, which was erected adjoining the church on Franklin place, for the education of female Catholic children.

“DISCOVERY OF ANOTHER RELIC OF THE PAST.

“The grave of Pierre Daillie, the beloved minister of the old French church, established in Boston by the Protestant refugees who sought protection in America after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, has long been an object of search by those who have held the name and memory of this excellent man in high respect.

“Not many weeks ago, the humble foot-stone, which in part served to denote the last resting-place of this estimable pastor, was accidentally discovered in the Granary Burial-Ground, where, for many years it had been entirely hidden from view, being covered by the soil and sods of that sacred inclosure.

“It can now be seen, restored to public view, scarcely two rods from the entrance-gate to that cemetery, at one of the corners formed by one of the numerous by-paths and the main avenue of the yard. But the head-stone is not there.

“It has remained for another accident to disclose, this morning, the hiding-place of the much-sought-for memorial, which the friends of deceased had placed at his grave to designate the exact spot of his interment. While laborers were employed in excavating a cellar on the old Emmons estate in Pleasant street, now in the possession of Dr. Drew, they suddenly struck upon the stone, which, for some unknown reason, had been removed to that remote place.”

The inscription was found to be the same as that hereinbefore described.

The following is a partial list of the French Protestants who arrived in New England about the time of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. This list refers principally to those who settled in this vicinity ; the greater part removed to the colonies further south, part to New York, but the larger number settled in South Carolina.

NAMES.

Rev. Daniel Bondet, Rev. Peter Daillie, and Rev. Andrew Le Mercier, the three ministers of these exiles, while maintaining a separate organization of the French Protestant church ; Andrew Sigourney, Andrew Faneuil, Benj. Faneuil, and Peter Faneuil, who is believed to be the son of Andrew Faneuil ; Gabriel Bernon, the factor and principal assistant of

the New Oxford Plantation ; Isaac Bertrand du Tuffeau, the agent of Gabriel Bernon, and one of the first that settled at Oxford ; Pierre Jermon, Abraham Sauvages, Philip Emgerland, Jacques Montier, Mourret Ancien, Jean Rawlings, Peter Chardon, John Johnson, Charles Johnson, John Maillet, Elie Dispeau, Jacques Dupont, Rene Grignon, Peter Canton, Jean Beaudoin, Francis Bredan, John Tartarian, Andrew Johonnot, Zachariah Johonnot, John Arnoult, John Packenett, William Beaudoin, Paul Cronillet, John Evans, John Barbet, Stephen Beautineau, Pierre Beaudoin, who arrived at Falmouth, Casco Bay, now Portland, and soon removed to Boston, De Paix Cazaneau, Gabriel Le Boytelux, Pierre Chasseleup, Ober Jermon, Bereau Caine, Anthonie Olivier, Lazarus Le Barron, James Bowyer, Elie Beaudinot, Mian, Garrett, Paliere, Sabin, Berrey, Germaine, John Dupe, Peter Shumway, and others.

There are many descendants of these French exiles that have maintained in New England and in other parts of this country positions of honorable distinction.

A descendant of Pierre Beaudoin, the Hon. James Bowdoin, became Governor of Massachusetts, and was a patron of science and literature.

A descendant of Elie Beaudinot became one of the Presidents of the Continental Congress under the Articles of Confederation ; he was the Chief Director of the United States Mint at Philadelphia, ten years, from 1795 to 1805, and is considered the father of the American Bible Society, and was its first president.

A descendant of Benjamin Faneuil, Peter Faneuil, has perpetuated his name as the benefactor of the town of Boston, in the gift of "Faneuil Hall." It was finished entirely at his expense, and the keys presented to the town authorities, September 10, 1742.

At a meeting in this hall, held on the 13th of September,

1742, a vote of thanks was moved by the Hon. John Jeffries, as follows:—

“ *Whereas*, Peter Faneuil has, at a very great expense, erected a noble structure, far exceeding his first proposal, inasmuch as it contains, not only a large and sufficient accommodation for a market, but a spacious and most beautiful town hall over it, and several convenient rooms; as the building is now finished, and he has delivered possession thereof to the Selectmen for the use of the town, it is therefore voted that the town do, with the utmost gratitude, receive and accept this most generous and most noble benefaction, for the use and intention it is designed for; and do appoint the Hon. Thomas Cushing, Esq., the Moderator of this meeting; the Hon. Adam Winthrop, Edward Hutchinson, Ezekiel Lewis, and Samuel Waldo, Esqrs., Thomas Hutchinson, Esq.; the Selectmen of the town of Boston, and the Representatives to the General Court; the Hon. Jacob Wendell, James Boudoin, Esq., Andrew Oliver, Esq., Captain Nathaniel Cunningham, Peter Chardon, Esq., and Charles Apthorp, to wait upon Peter Faneuil, Esq., and, in the name of the town, to tender him their most hearty thanks for so beautiful a gift, with their prayers that this and other expressions of his bounty and charity may be abundantly recompensed with the divine blessing.”

In addition to this vote, the citizens passed another, that the hall should be called *Faneuil Hall* forever, and that the portrait of Faneuil should be painted at full length and placed therein.

On the 14th of March, 1744, a vote was passed to purchase the Faneuil Arms, carved and gilt by Moses Deshon, to be fixed in said hall.

Mr. Pemberton, the antiquary, says that previous to the Revolution, the portraits of Mr. Faneuil, General Conway, and Colonel Barre, were procured and placed in this hall. It is supposed they were carried off by the British, when they evacuated the town, during the Revolution.*

It appears that General Conway was a member of Parliament, and earnestly opposed the Stamp-Act, so odious to the people of the town of Boston, and for this he was paid this mark of honor.

* See Snow's History of Boston, p. 235; also, Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, vols. II and III, 1st edition.

Colonel Isaac Barre was of French descent, although born at Dublin, Ireland, in 1726, and dying there, July 1, 1802. His father was a French refugee, the same as the ancestor of Faneuil; but the honor of placing his portrait in this hall was not on this account, but for his remarkable impromptu speech in the British Parliament in favor of the American colonies, in reply to Charles Townsend, who supported the measures for taxing these colonies, as follows: He insisted that the colonies had borne but a small portion of the large expenditures for carrying on the late war (the war for the acquisition of the French possessions in America), but had obtained by it immense advantage at a vast expense to the mother country. He then continued:

“*And now*, will these American children, planted by our care, nourished up, by our indulgence, to a degree of strength and opulence, and protected by our arms, grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from the heavy burden under which we lie?”

As he sat down, Mr. Barre rose, and excitedly replied as follows:

“They planted by your care! No, your oppression planted them in America. They fled from your tyranny to a then uncultivated, inhospitable country, where they exposed themselves to almost all the hardships to which human nature is liable; and among others, to the cruelties of a savage foe, the most subtle, and I will take upon me to say, the most formidable of any people upon the face of God’s earth. And yet, actuated by principles of true English liberty, they met all hardships with pleasure, compared with those they suffered in their own country from the hands of those who should have been their friends. They nourished by your indulgence! They grew by your neglect of them. As soon as you began to care for them, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule them, in one department and another, who were perhaps the deputies of deputies of some members of this house, sent to spy out their liberties, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them. Men whose behavior, on many occasions, caused the blood of those *sons of liberty* to recoil within them; men promoted to the highest seats of justice, some who, to my knowledge, were glad, by going to a foreign country, to escape being brought to a bar of justice in their own. They protected by your arms! They have nobly taken up arms in your de-

fense, have exerted a valor amidst their constant and laborious industry, for the defense of a country whose frontier was drenched in blood, while its interior parts yielded all its little savings to your emolument.

“And, believe me—remember, I this day told you so—the same spirit of freedom which actuated that people at first will accompany them still. But prudence forbids me to explain myself further. God knows I do not at this time speak from motives of party heat.

“However superior to me, in general knowledge and experience, the respectable body of this house may be, yet I claim to know more of America than most of you, having seen and been conversant in that country.

“The people, I believe, are as truly loyal as any subjects the king has, but a people jealous of their liberties, and who will vindicate them if ever they should be violated. But the subject is too delicate : I will say no more.”

Although this speech of Colonel Barre has often been quoted, it is entitled to a place here.

Colonel Barre was an officer in the French war for the conquest of the Canadas, and was with General James Wolfe at the siege and capture of Quebec in the memorable battle on the Plains of Abraham, on the 14th of August, 1759, and present at the death of that brave officer at that place, he himself being wounded.

After the surrender of Montreal, September 8, 1760, Colonel Barre was appointed bearer of dispatches from Lord Amherst, announcing the event to Lord Chatham. He occupies a prominent position in Benjamin West's great painting of “The Death of Wolfe.”

The original building was but half the width of the present one, and but two stories high. The hall could contain but about 1,000 persons. In the memorable fire of Tuesday, January 13, 1761, Faneuil Hall was destroyed, and nothing left standing but the walls. On the 23d of March following, the town voted to rebuild, and the State authorized a lottery to meet the expenses. The lottery tickets were of several classes, bearing date, March, 1767, and had upon them the bold name of John Hancock. Faneuil Hall retained the origi-

nal size given it by Mr. Faneuil until 1806, when the increase of population required its enlargement; its width was now increased from forty feet, its original width, to eighty, with a third story added, the length being one hundred feet. The grasshopper vane, like that placed upon the spire of the cupola by Mr. Faneuil, is still retained. Peter Faneuil died, March 3, 1743.

At the next meeting of the inhabitants in the hall, March 14, following, a funeral oration was delivered by Mr. John Lovell, master of the South Grammar School.

This oration is inserted in full, in the "History of Boston" by Dr. Snow,* and was the first specimen of eloquence uttered in the hall; as a tribute due to the memory of Mr. Faneuil, and as a relic of past history, it has thus been preserved.

Gabriel Bernon having filled so conspicuous a position connected with this early French plantation, it seems proper that something further should be related of his character and acts during his after life, while residing in Rhode Island; also, some further explanation concerning his family connections.

Quoting again from Dr. Holmes, this name is mentioned by Baron La Hautan, as of Rochelle.†

"The merchant that has carried on the greatest trade in Canada, is Sieur Samuel Bernon, of Rochelle. He has great warehouses at Quebec, from which the inhabitants of the other towns are supplied with such commodities as they want."

The trade of Canada, it appears, was principally with the city of Rochelle in France.

In the account of the government of Canada, given by La

* See Snow's History of Boston, pp. 233-237 and 246-247.

† See vol. II, 3d series, Mass. Hist. Collections, p. 51. Mr. J. Gilmary Shea, referring to La Hautan's history of his voyages, says, in his translation of Charlevoix's New France: "It is a curious fact that no other writer of the French history of Canada refers to La Hautan; and Charlevoix but barely mentions him. He represents that he was sent out to Canada with three companies of troops, sent to De la Barre in the autumn of 1683, and returned to France in 1692." See Translation, vol. III, p. 286.

Hautan in the history of his voyages, he remarks upon the narrow and bigoted policy of Louis XIV :

“I wonder that, instead of banishing the Protestants out of France—who, in removing to the countries of our enemies, have done so much damage to the kingdom by carrying their money along with them, and setting up manufactories in those countries—I wonder the Court did not think it more proper to transport them to Canada. I am convinced that if they had received positive assurance of enjoying liberty of conscience, a great many of them would have made no scruple to go thither.

“If the Council of State had followed my scheme, in the space of thirty or forty years New France would have become a finer and more flourishing kingdom than several others in Europe.”

There is much wisdom and good sense in these remarks; and had they been adopted, the strength of Canada would have been such that it is not improbable that Canada to-day would have been a powerful French, instead of an English colony, as it now is. And instead of Romanism prevailing among the French, they now would have the advantage of the prosperity that follows where people think for themselves, which is the foundation principle of Protestantism, and prevention of bigotry.

Believing it important, as a part of the history of this French plantation, to preserve all that relates to any party concerned therein, the following letters are quoted, showing the standing and character of Mr. Bernon. This first is a letter addressed by Lord Bellamont to Mr. Bernon, dated, “New York, 23d November, 1698:”

“SIR: I am sorry to learn that you have left New England for the purpose of residing in Rhode Island. Mr. Campbell told me the news, which afflicts me much, since I had desired to cultivate all possible friendship with you when I shall arrive at Boston.

“I am ashamed for not having written you sooner, but, I assure you, it has not been for want of esteem, but solely from having been continually occupied by the affairs of my government. If you find occasion to come and establish yourself here in this town, I shall do all I possibly can for your encouragement. I shall not forget the recommendation of

you by the Count of Galway; and I am truly and strongly disposed to respond to it by all good offices.

“I shall be very glad to see you here, for the purpose of conversing with you upon certain affairs which relate to the service of the king.

“I am, with true esteem and friendship,

“Your very humble servant,

“BELLAMONT.

“For Mr. BERNON, a French merchant, Rhode Island.”

As was solicited by Lord Bellamont, Mr. Bernon visited New York the following spring, as appears by a letter of his preserved in the history of the Huguenots of France and America, by Mrs. Lee, who is a descendant of one of these exiles, dated, “25th of March 1699, at New York,” in which he counsels his friends there as follows:

“I, like you, have abandoned property and our country for the sake of religion; and so have many of our refugee brothers in various parts of the world. We should all of us submit to the government under which we have placed ourselves. It is for us a great happiness and a great honor to be able to call ourselves good subjects of our sovereign, King William; that, since God commands us to submit to the royal power, we can not have too much veneration for so great and illustrious a prince, nor too much respect for the governor who represents him.

“I have, with pain, seen some persons depart from the duty which we owe to my lord, the Count of Bellamont. Do not think that I am bold enough to erect myself into a censor, or to prescribe anything to you; but I thought it my duty, as a brother, to let you know my true sentiments.

“This difference of tastes, of constitution, prevents people from agreeing perfectly. You are for Mississippi; I am for Rhode Island. I offer you my services there and everywhere else.”

The works of Mrs. Lee, from which this and other letters are taken, possess much interest to such as desire to become acquainted with the character and doings of this worthy class of colonists called the Huguenot exiles, or persecuted French Protestants.

It appears that Mr. Bernon changed his religious forms

from that of the usage of the Reformed church in France to a conformity with the English church.

He may be regarded as one of the principal men who founded the Episcopal church in Rhode Island, as the following will show :

FOUNDING OF TRINITY CHURCH, NEWPORT.

“ To his Excellency, Richard, Earl of Bellamont, Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief in and over the Provinces of the Massachusetts Bay, New York, and New Hampshire, and the Territories thereon depending in America, and Vice-Admiral of the same :

“ The humble petition of the people of the Church of England now resident in Rhode Island,

“ SHEWETH,—

“ That your petitioners, and others inhabiting within this island, having agreed and concluded to erect a church for the worship of God, according to the discipline of the Church of England; and though we are disposed and ready to give all the encouragement we possibly can to a pious and learned minister to settle and abide amongst us, yet by reason we are not in a capacity to contribute to such an honorable maintenance as may be requisite and expedient.

“ Your petitioners, therefore, humbly pray that your lordship will be pleased so far to favor our undertakings as to intercede with his majesty for his gracious letters to this government on our behalf, to protect and encourage us; and that some assistance towards the present maintenance of a minister among us may be granted, as your excellency, in your great wisdom, shall think most meet; and that your excellency will also be pleased to write in our behalf and favor to the Lords of the Council of Trade and Plantations, or such ministers of state as your excellency shall judge convenient in and about the premises.

“ And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

“ Gabriel Bernon,	William Brinley,
Pierre Ayrould,	Isaac Martindale,
Thomas Fox,	Robert Gardiner,
George Cuttler,	Thomas Paine,
William Pease,	Thomas Mallett,
Edwin Carter,	Robert Wrightington,
Franklin Pope,	Anthony Blount,
Richard Newland,	Thomas Lillibridge.”

This petition was delivered at Newport, 26th September,

1699, and forwarded to the Board of Trade by Lord Bellamont on 24th October. It was received and read on 5th January following. In his letter, inclosing it to the Board, Bellamont says :

“I send your lordships the petition of several persons in Rhode Island for a Church of England minister, and a yearly settled maintenance for one. I hope your lordships will please to patronize so good a design, and will obtain his majesty’s allowance of a competent maintenance for such a minister. It will be a means, I hope, to reform the lives of the people in that island, and make good Christians of them, who at present are all in darkness.”

The petition was sent by the Board of Trade to the Bishop of London, who presented it to the king, by whom it was referred back to the board, April 16, for their opinion upon what was proper to be done in the matter.

Other petitions for promoting the Gospel among the Indians were pending at the same time. From these movements originated the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, incorporated in 1701, by whom, two years later, the Rev. James Honeyman was sent out as a missionary to this station, upon the petition of the wardens of Trinity church to that society for aid. Meanwhile, Rev. Mr. Lockyer, who had gathered the church early in 1690, new style, served as its rector, and their first meeting-house was completed in 1702. The present venerable Trinity church, at Newport, around which sleep many distinguished persons of that early period, was erected in the year 1726.

Their first meeting-house, as above, proving too small for the number who worshipped there, it was removed, and the present edifice erected on its site.*

* In this church was often heard the voice of the celebrated George Berkeley, Dean of Derry, who resided in Newport about two and a half years. He arrived in that town, January 23, 1729, with his family, and soon after purchased a country-seat and farm about three miles from the city, and there erected a house which he named “Whitehall.” He was admitted a freeman of the colony in May following. His labors and influence while in this country resulted in much good in imparting an impulse to the literature of the country.

The length of time in which Gabriel Bernon resided in Newport has not been ascertained, but it is known that he removed from this place to Narragansett (North Kingston),

He visited Cambridge in 1731, and, during his residence here, contributed many valuable Greek and Latin classics to Harvard college. To Yale college he presented 880 volumes, and, on his departure from Newport, he gave the Whitehall estate, consisting of his mansion, and one hundred acres of land, to that institution, for the support of three scholarships there, in Latin and Greek.

After his return to England, in 1733, he sent a magnificent organ, as a donation to Trinity church in Newport, which is still in constant use, and bears an inscription which perpetuates the generosity of the donor.

While at Newport, he formed a society for the purpose of discussing philosophical questions and of collecting books. From this source originated the Redwood Library, of which all lovers of books, who visit Newport to spend the summer, have a knowledge, and highly appreciate its value as a place of instruction as well as social amusement. His country-seat, Whitehall, and the natural alcove in the elevation called the "Hanging Rocks" (roofed and open to the south, presenting a beautiful view of the ocean and adjacent island, which, it is said, he used to frequent to study, about half a mile southerly from his residence), have become noted places of resort for visitors.

Here he wrote his "Alciphron; or, Minute Philosopher," an ingenious defense of the Christian religion, and that celebrated ode, a monument to his genius, on the prospect of planting the arts and sciences in America. The first was printed at Newport, by James Franklin, the first printer in Rhode Island, who established the first printing-press here in 1732. See Thomas' History of Printing, vol. i, p. 419; also, S. G. Arnold's History of Rhode Island, vol. ii, p. 100. The ode is as follows:

" ODE.

"The muse, disgusted at an age and elime,
 Barren of every glorious theme,
 In distant lands now waits a better time,
 Producing subjects worthy fame.

In happy climes, where, from the genial sun
 And virgin earth fresh scenes ensue,
 The force of art by nature seems outdone,
 And fancied beauties by the true.

In happy elimes, the seat of innocence,
 Where nature guides and virtue rules—
 Where men shall not impose for truth and sense
 The pedantry of courts and schools—

There shall be sung another golden age,
 The rise of empire and of arts,
 The good and great inspiring epic rage,
 The wisest heads and noblest hearts.

Not such as Europe breeds in her decay,
 Such as she bred when fresh and young,
 When heavenly fame did animate the elay,
 By future ages shall be sung.

Westward the eourse of empire takes its way;
 The four first aets already past,
 A fifth shall close the drama with the day;
 Time's noblest offspring is the last."

and engaged there in establishing the second Episcopal church in Rhode Island, in 1707.

He was ardently engaged in the propagation of the Episcopal church in this colony, and was a correspondent of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The Rev. David Humphries, of London, Secretary of that Society, gave an historical account of its operations in America in 1730. This society, which was established in 1701, had for its object the dissemination of religion, according to the forms of the English church. He was also in correspondence with Bishop Berkeley and the Earl of Bellamont, on the subject of establishing the Episcopal church at Providence.

Mr. Bernon removed from Narragansett to Providence, and there was instrumental in establishing the third Episcopal church in Rhode Island. The Rev. James Honeyman and Dr. James McSparron were his principal co-operators in this object. The church edifice was commenced there in 1722, and completed, and the Rev. George Pigot, who had been a

Although Bishop Berkeley failed in accomplishing the design of his visit to America—the establishing a college at the Bermudas for the purpose of training pastors for the colonial churches, and missionaries to the Indians—yet, he united his name with America, which will remain in perpetual remembrance; and it is not a little remarkable that a large portion of the funds which were raised to aid him in carrying out the object of his visit to America, should fall into the hands of his esteemed friend, General James Oglethorpe, the founder of Georgia, to be there used for similar benevolent designs, in the colony of his own planting, which he lived to see become one of the free and independent United States of America. General Oglethorpe was born, December 21, 1688, and died, June 30, 1785, aged ninety-seven.

In 1734 Dean Berkeley was raised to the Bishopric of Cloyne, and retired to Oxford in 1752, and died there, January 14, 1753, aged seventy-three.

See vol. iv, Rhode Island Hist. Soc. Collections, pp. 13 and 30-36, by Romeo Elton; also see S. G. Arnold's History of Rhode Island, vol. ii, pp. 17, 99, 100, and 169; and Stevens' History of Georgia, vol. i, pp. 78, 209, and 212.

Dean Berkeley brought with him, in pursuance of his contemplated object in visiting America, a corps of literary men and artists, among whom was John Smibert, a Scotch painter, born in Edinburgh about 1685; died at Boston, Massachusetts, in 1728. He had arrived at a respectable position as a painter in London, and was induced, in 1758, to accompany Dean Berkeley to America, and, on the failure of the benevolent scheme of the latter, he settled in Boston. He painted many distinguished persons of that day in New England and Middle States, and was the principal pattern after whom Copley and Trumbull emulated. The large painting of Berkeley and family and himself, on their first landing in America, now in the possession of Yale college, is his most celebrated work.

missionary at Stratford, Connecticut, was called to this place, and established as its first rector, in 1723.*

There were many other colonies of these French Protestants that were planted about this time in other parts of the country, which it is not the purpose here to describe.

Of the colony which settled on the shore of Long Island sound, and founded the town of New Rochelle, in New York, it is said they purchased of John Pell 6,000 acres of land. Although forced to leave their native land where they had suffered, yet the love of country continued to be strongly manifested. It is stated that here:

“One venerable Huguenot would go daily to the shore, when, directing his eyes towards the direction where he supposed France was situated, would sing one of Marot’s† hymns, and send to Heaven his early morning devotions. Others joined him in these praises of their God, and remembrances of their beloved native clime, from which they had been banished by the merciless forces of persecution.”‡

These Huguenots bought their lands here by a release from Jacob Leisler, who purchased of John Pell, in their behalf, September 20, 1689. The release bears date, “31st May, 1690.” It, however, appears, by the charter of Trinity church, at New Rochelle (wherein they specify), that “they fled from France in 1681.”§

There was another colony of Huguenots who settled in Ulster county in the year 1677, at which time they purchased a large tract of country of the Indians, on the west side of

* See S. G. Arnold’s *History of Rhode Island*, vol. II, pp. 76-77; also, vol. III, *Rhode Island Hist. Soc. Collections*, pp. 131-135; and see vol. IV, *Rhode Island Hist. Collections*, pp. 265-267.

† Clement Marot was born at Cahors, in 1495, and died in 1544; he was the first poet of his day; his hymns in France were like Dr. Isaac Watts’ in England, who was born at Southampton, 1674, died in 1748.

‡ See Weiss’ *History of French Protestant Refugees*, vol. II, p. 304.

§ See Bolton’s *History of Westchester County*, vol. I, pp. 375-382. Their first church was erected here in 1692-93. David Bonrepose, D. D., who accompanied the Huguenots in their flight to this land, was their first pastor. The Rev. Daniel Bondet was their second minister. See *Huguenots in America*, by Samuel Smiles. Appendix by G. P. Disosway, p. 432.

Hudson river, about seventy miles from New York. The location is in the mountain region along the valley of the beautiful stream called the Wallkill.

Many of these first settlers were of those who fled from France to the Palatinate, in Germany. The name of their settlement, called "New Paltz," is derived from Palatinate. The names of these first planters were Louis Dubois, Abraham Dubois, Abraham Hasbrouck, Andries Lefevre, Isaac Dubois, Jean Hasbrouck, Peter Deyo, Louis Bevier, Antonie Crispell, Hugo Freer, and Simeon Lefevre. These, the first purchasers, took the name of patentees.

It is related that on their arrival here, on the banks of the Wallkill, as soon as they had unharnessed their teams and unpacked their goods, they assembled together, opened their Bibles, read Psalm xxiii, and then engaged in solemn acts of religious worship. A fitting and appropriate commencement of a new settlement by those who had, through persecution, sacrificed property, home, and their native country, that they might enjoy the worship of God, according to the dictates of conscience.

Here, on the eastern bank of this stream, they erected, among their first buildings, a meeting-house, used for the purposes both of religious worship and school for their children. This house was built of logs. In this rude structure they first enjoyed that sacred right—religious liberty—for which they had made so great a sacrifice.

Their determination to possess freedom in matters of faith, is beautifully expressed in "The Huguenot's Farewell," by Mrs. Hemans, quoted by Mr. Stitt:

" And I obey—I leave their towers
Unto the stranger's tread;
Unto the creeping grass and flowers,
Unto the fading pictures of the dead.

I leave their shields to slow decay,
 Their banners to the dust;
 I go, and only bear away
 Their old majestic name—a solemn trust.

I go up to the ancient hills
 Where chains may never be;
 Where leap in joy the torrent rills,
 Where man may worship God, alone and free.

There shall an altar and a camp,
 Impreguably arise;
 There shall be lit a quenchless lamp,
 To shine unwavering through the open skies.

And song shall 'midst the rocks be heard,
 And fearless prayer ascend;
 While thrilling to God's most Holy word,
 The mountain pines in adoration bend.

And there the burning heart no more,
 Its deep thought shall suppress;
 But the long buried truth shall pour
 Free currents thence amidst the wilderness.

Then fare-thee-well, my mother's bower,
 Farewell, my father's hearth!
 Perish my home! whence lawless power
 Hath rent the tie of love to native earth.

Perish! let death-like silence fall,
 Upon the lone abode;
 Spread fast, dark ivy—spread thy pall!
 I go up to the mountains, with my God."

The early history of the church and settlement at New Paltz, recorded as it transpired—the oldest church in the possession of the Consistory, and written in the French language, extending from the time of its organization, January 22, 1683, to 1702, nineteen years—has been preserved.

It contains eight different handwritings, including the autographs of Abraham Hasbrouck, Louis Dubois, and Louis Bevier.

The first entry in the record is an account of the organization, which reads as follows :

“January 22d, 1683.

“Mr. Pierre Daillie, minister of the Word of God, arrived at New Paltz, and preached twice on the Sunday following, and proposed to the families to choose, by a majority of votes of the fathers of families, an elder and deacon, which they did, and chose Louis Dubois for elder, and Hugh Freer for deacon, to aid the minister in the management of the members of the church, who were then confirmed to the said charge of elder and deacon.”

Mr. Daillie, while here, divided his time between this church and the French church in the city of New York, up to the time he left to become the pastor of the French church in Boston. He was succeeded in the duties as pastor of this church by Rev. David Bonrepose, who was the first pastor of the church at New Rochelle, where he was succeeded by the Rev. Daniel Bondet, in 1699, who came from Boston, where his place as pastor was filled by Mr. Daillie.

Mr. Daillie having left New Paltz in 1696, Mr. David Bonrepose took his place, and preached his first sermon there, May 31, 1696.*

The Dutch settlement of New Netherlands, now New York, received its first permanent planters early in May, 1623. Previous to this date, from the time of the discovery of this country and its noble river by Henry Hudson, in 1609, it had been the resort of trappers and fur traders.

The first colonists were Walloons, of French origin. They inhabited upon the frontiers, between France and Flanders, extending from the Scheldt to the river Lys. They spoke the old French or Gallic language, and professed the Reformed religion.

* See History of the Huguenot Church and Settlement at New Paltz, by Rev. Charles H. Stitt, D. D.

The foregoing, relating to this settlement and church, is mostly taken from Mr. Stitt's pamphlet, for which the writer is indebted to his kindness in complying with his request for a copy of the same.

During the thirty years' war between the seven provinces of the Netherlands and Spain, which resulted in the independence of the former, the Walloons distinguished themselves by their valor in battling for freedom and the rights of conscience in union with their Dutch associates.

The Dutch West India Company, who controlled this new colony, subject to the approval of their doings by the States-General of the United Netherlands, sent out, in the ship *Netherland*, thirty families of these Walloons, under the charge of Captain Cornelius Jacobsen Mey. They sailed from a port in the island of the Texel (near the main-land) in March, 1623, and arrived early in May on the Hudson river. A part of these Walloons located at New Amsterdam (New York), and others were sent up the river to Fort Orange, a trading-post—now Albany—while several of these families planted themselves on the east side of the Hallegat, or East river, on the borders of a cove, near the present site of the United States Navy-Yard, which took the name of *Wahle Bocht* (Walloons Bay); but, by a corruption of this name by the English, it is now known as the Wallabout.

These few families were the founders of the city of *Breuklen* (Brooklyn). It is said that Sarah Rapelje, daughter of Joris Rapelje and Catelina Trico, born here in 1625, was the first white child, or Christian born, in New Netherlands.

The Dutch government continued in this colony to 1664,* a period of about fifty years, when it became, by conquest, an

* The names of the Dutch directors or governors, were as follows :

The first was Cornelius Jacobsen Mey. Served from 1623 to 1624. One year.

The second was William Verhulst. Served from 1624 to 1625. One year.

The third was Peter Minuit, called governor, from 1625 to 1633. Eight years.

The fourth was Wouter Van Twiller. Served from 1633 to 1638. Five years.

The fifth was William Keift. Served from 1638 to 1647. Nine years.

The sixth, and last, was Peter Stuyvesant. Served from 1647 to September 8, 1664. Seventeen years.

See E. B. O'Callaghan's History of New Netherlands; also see John Romeyn Brodhead's History of State of New York.

English colony, and, in honor of the Duke of York, took the name of New York.

During the period of rule by the Netherlands, who maintained free toleration of all systems of religious faith, it became the resort of the exiles of the Reformed religion, who had for many years fled to the United Provinces of the Netherlands for shelter and protection. Among the exiles a large number were of French origin.

In the early period of the history of the colony of New York, the number of the inhabitants that were French and Dutch was so great, and their language so generally spoken, it was necessary to publish all laws in both the Dutch and French language, as well as the English, at a subsequent period.

The growth and prosperity of the city and State of New York is greatly indebted to the commencement and continuance of religious toleration; like the country from which it originated, it has been the favorite resort of persecuted religionists, and lovers of freedom of all countries.

It is represented that in the year 1689 there were two hundred French families in the city of New York and vicinity, who came here about the time of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.*

The government of France contemplated, at one time, seriously, capturing the city of New York, to punish the French citizens who had fled here, that had escaped from France.

Louis XIV attributed much of the encroachments by the English upon his Catholic subjects in the Canadas to the ill-feeling of the French Protestants in New York and New England.†

The acts of liberality of William Penn, in matters of faith

* See documents relating to the colonial history of New York, vol. III, p. 650.

† See same, vol. IX, pp. 425, 509, 540-549.

and political policy in his proprietary in Pennsylvania, induced colonists from all Protestant countries in Europe to settle in that province. Many of the Dutch and French, and also Swedes, had commenced settlements upon its borders before Mr. Penn received his title to the country. The early history of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware is largely connected with that of New York. The elementary ideas of religious toleration and political freedom emanated from the Dutch Fatherland.

The exiled Huguenots of the Palatinate and Holland, settling there through a period of more than 100 years, from the commencement of the civil wars in France in 1561, were largely of the number who first settled in the Middle States.*

Virginia received a share of these exiled Huguenots in 1690 ; under the patronage of King William, a colony settled on the banks of James river, about twenty miles above Richmond. These were of the number who followed the Prince of Orange into England, and took part with him in the Irish war. They founded the town of Manakin ; this district subsequently took the name of "*The Parish of King William.*" Their numbers were greatly increased in 1699 by other escaped refugees. Their minister was Claude Philippe de Richbourg.†

A large colony of these refugees settled in North Carolina, in the territory between the rivers Neuse and Trent. These, with a number of families from the canton of Berne, in Switzerland, aided by Christopher, Baron de Graffenreid, a nobleman from that place, formed a flourishing plantation, which they called *New Berne*, in honor of Berne in that country.

These foreigners, although coming from different countries,

* See Brodhead's New York, pp. 620; also, 745-750.

† See Beverly's Virginia, chapter XIII; also, Campbell's Virginia, p. 370; also see Proud's History of Pennsylvania, vol. I, p. 219.

were principally of French origin. Their firmness and persistency in their religious faith, and their tolerant consideration towards others who differed with them in such matters, gave ample evidence that they were fit inhabitants for laying the foundation of a government controlled by the exercise of individual sovereignty.

They proved themselves worthy citizens, and many distinguished names in that State trace their origin to these Huguenot ancestors.*

South Carolina was more largely identified with this class of exiles who fled from France than either of the before-mentioned colonies. Through all its early history they gave tone and character to the population. Many were direct from France, but more from the countries to which they had previously fled for protection.

There were many of the Palatines that fled into Holland and England, at the time their country was laid waste by fire and the sword of the French army, under Turenne, in the year 1674. Many thousands of this people were made destitute by the burning of whole towns and cities.

The English government gave friendly encouragement to this class of people; there could not be any better or more suitable people to supply planters to their rising colonies in America, and, by rendering aid in their transportation to England, opened the way for their removing to America, to which these refugees gladly embarked in large numbers.

While Louis XIV was depopulating his European domains, and forbidding their settlement within the limits of his colonies in America, England was adopting a reverse course, which

* See Francois Xavier Martin's History of North Carolina, vol. 1, pp. 232-235; also, Hugh Williamson's History of North Carolina, vol. 1, p. 184, and note c, pp. 275-281. This note gives the contract of Christopher, Baron de Graffenreid, and Louis Mitchel, for introducing these early planters, called "Palatines."

It bears date the "10th day of October, Anno Domini, 1709, and in the eighth year of our Sovereign Lady Anne, by the grace of God, Queen of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith;" with Graffenreid and others.

added large numbers of valuable colonists to her several provinces, and furnishing great strength and power, whose antagonistic element to the French ultimately proved the ruin of that interest on this continent.

As early as the year 1679, Charles II, with the intention of introducing the production of wine, oil, and silk in the mild climate of the Carolinas, gave encouragement to the planting of the French agriculturists there. Although they received at this time many families of this class of French Protestants, they were not successful in the object designed; yet they proved themselves valuable citizens.

Many honorable names have descended from this class of the early planters in South Carolina. The following are among the number: Henry Laurens, one of the Presidents of the Continental Congress, who, on his resignation received the appointment of Minister to Holland; being captured on his way to Europe by the English, he was confined in London from 1778 till the close of the Revolutionary War, and when released received a commission, and joined Dr. Franklin, John Adams, and John Jay; and with them negotiated the preliminaries, and signed the treaty of peace, November 30, 1782, by which the Independence of the United States was acknowledged.

Gabriel Manigault, another descendant of these refugees, was a successful merchant of that colony, who, at the commencement of the Revolutionary War, to relieve that colony from its pecuniary embarrassment, and to enable it to prepare for the impending struggle, granted her a loan of \$220,000, and at his death, in 1781, at the age of seventy-seven years, left to the South Carolina Society of Charleston £5,000 sterling, to educate destitute children. The name of Francis Marion, a pattern of valor and patriotism, is exhibited in brilliant colors in the history of the Revolution. He was a descendant of a French refugee.

The late Hugh Swinton Legare was another ; he received the appointment of Attorney-General of the United States from President Tyler, and, as W. C. Preston, an able statesman, remarked, "his practice as attorney-general was attended with the most conspicuous success." Among the other names of these French planters in South Carolina are found Benoist, Bosquit, Boiseau, Bouneau, Chevalier, Cordis, Bacot, Dupre, Delisle, Duboise, Deveraux, Dutarque, Deleseline, Dupont, Francheraud, Gaillard, Guerard, Godin, Giradeau, Gourdine, Horry, Huger, Mellichamp, Maurau, Priolean, Porcher, Postell, Peyre, Ravenel, Simmons, St. Julian, Trevenaut, etc.*

Other refugees settled in Georgia. Among these were the colony of Salzburgers. Their ancestors were from the precinct of Savoy,† driven from their homes through the persecution of the dukes of that province. They sought a retreat in the valleys of the rivers Salzer and Tyrol, in the mountain region, in the western part of Austria. Their persecutions here were almost unparalleled. After many years of peace and quietness, about thirty thousand were driven, in three years—from 1729 to 1732—from that country through the influence of the Romish priests, simply for their adherence to a different religious faith. They were reduced to a state of destitution, and compelled to find homes among the benevolent of Protestant countries. They were everywhere received with kindness and hospitality, for their known peaceful and industrious habits.

About the time of the commencement of the colony of Georgia, the British government, through their aid, enabled

* See Ramsay's *History of South Carolina*, vol. I, pp. 5-8 ; also, vol. II, pp. 481-501 ; and for the inhuman treatment of the Palatines, see Menzel's *History of Germany*, vol. II, chapters 224, 225-227 ; also, Miss Pardoe's *Louis XIV and Court of France*, chapters 8-9. The terrible sufferings of the people of the border provinces of Germany can scarcely be described. The generals of Louis XIV, under the direction of Louvois, the minister of war, had full liberty to pillage, burn, and destroy.

† These were French Protestants.

the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, in the year 1734, to transplant a number of these distressed Salzburgers into this new colony.

They were first provided with means to reach England, and then embarked for their new destination. After a long sea voyage they reached Charleston, South Carolina, where they met the proprietor of the province of Georgia, General James Oglethorpe, who extended his kindness and aid in forwarding them to Savannah, where they arrived, March 12, 1734.

It was their desire to settle in a hilly country like that from which they came, where there were springs of clear water and flowing streams. A tract of this description was found about thirty miles in the rear of Savannah, between two small rivers, which were branches of the Savannah river.

To this locality they soon removed, and, having all safely arrived, they knelt in prayer, and sung a psalm of thanksgiving for their deliverance from their trials, and for their pleasant new home, which they named *Ebenezer*—a place of rest. They were highly pleased with the delightful climate, and the richness of the soil of their plantation. They applied themselves with great industry in clearing their lands, and reducing them to the cultivation of various products of the soil. They soon had erected comfortable dwellings, and houses for their religious worship, and schools. Here, under the guidance of the benevolent Oglethorpe, others of this people soon joined them, when their new home in the wilderness became a thriving and prosperous plantation.

The reputation of General Oglethorpe's proprietary soon drew to it many that sought relief from religious oppression.

Among these foreigners were many sent there by the celebrated Nicolaus Ludovicus, Count of Zinzendorf, the founder of the Society of the United Brethren. His idea was to

found a Christian community on the model of the primitive Apostolic congregations.

From this effort originated the sect, called “Moravians.”*

* See Stevens' History of Georgia, vol. I, chapters II and III; also see Menzel's History of Germany, vol. III, pp. 33-40. For an account of the Salzburgers, see same, pp. 55, 131-132.

James Oglethorpe, the founder of Georgia, was born in the county of Surrey, in England, June 1, 1688, and died the 30th of June, 1785, aged ninety-seven, having lived to see the colony he founded become one of the free and independent States of the American Union. Zinzendorf was born in Dresden, May 26, 1700. He died at Herrnhut, May 9, 1760. He came to America in 1741, and remained in the country about two years. He preached at Germantown, Bethlehem, and Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania.

He traveled extensively into the different colonies and among the Indians. His mission was in the cause of peace and religion. The colony he established in Georgia left that proprietary, and removed to Pennsylvania in 1744. The chief colony of the Moravians was at Bethlehem in this province. Like the Quakers, they did not approve of warfare. Some further remarks concerning the United Brethren will be found in another part of these historical collections.



ENGLISH SETTLEMENT, OXFORD.



CHAPTER III.

THIS movement began by the following proclamation and deed from the proprietors of the grant to certain English settlers :

“ To all persons unto whom these presents shall come : Joseph Dudley, of Roxbury, in the county of Suffolk, and province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England, Esq. ; William Taylor, of Dorchester, in the same county, Esq. ; Peter Sargent, of Boston, Esq., and Mehetable, his wife ; John Nelson, of Boston, Esq., and Elizabeth, his wife ; as they, the said William Taylor, Peter Sargent, and John Danforth, are the heirs and executors of the Hon. William Stoughton, late of Dorchester, deceased, send greeting :

“ *Whereas*, The General Court of the colony of the Massachusetts Bay, in the year one thousand six hundred and eighty-two, granted to said Joseph Dudley, William Stoughton, Major Robert Thompson, and their associates, a certain tract of land in the Nipmuck country, eight miles square, for a township, as may be seen more at large by the records of the General Court, pursuant whereunto, and for the uses aforesaid, the said Joseph Dudley, William Stoughton, and their associates, in the year one thousand six hundred and eighty-six, brought over thirty families of French Protestants into this country, and settled them upon the eastern part of the said tract of land, and reserved, granted, and set apart 11,250 acres for a village, called Oxford, for the said families, and bounded it as by a plat upon record will more fully appear ; but forasmuch as the said French families have, many years since, wholly left and deserted their settlements in said village, and the said lands, as well by their deserting the same, and refusing to return, upon public proclamation made for that end, as by the voluntary surrender of most of them, are now reinvested in and restored to and become the estate and at the disposition of the original proprietors, their heirs and successors, for the ends aforesaid :

“ *And, whereas*, There are sundry good families of her Majesty's subjects within this province who offer themselves to go out and resettle the

said village, whereby they may be serviceable to the province, and the end and design of the original grant aforesaid be answered and attained:

“Now, know ye, that the said Joseph Dudley, William Taylor, Peter Sargent, and Mehetable, his wife, John Nelson, and Elizabeth, his wife, and John Danforth, and Elizabeth, his wife, for and in consideration and to the uses and intents above mentioned—

“Have fully, freely, and absolutely, and by these presents, do give, grant, and confirm unto Samuel Hageburn, John Town, Daniel Eliot, Abiel Lamb, Joseph Chamberlain, Benjamin Nealand, Benoni Twitchel, Joseph Rocket, Benjamin Chamberlain, Jr., Oliver Collier, Daniel Pier-son, Abram Skinner, Eben. Learned, Thomas Leason, Eben. Humphrey, Jonathan Tillotson, Edmund Taylor, Ephraim Town, Israel Town, William Hudson, Daniel Eliot, Jr., Nathaniel Chamberlain, John Chandler, Jr., John Chandler, and others, their associates, so as their number amount to thirty families, at least, all that part of the said tract of land, etc., etc., herein above mentioned; *Provided, always*, that if any of the persons, grantees above named, or any of their associates, shall neglect to settle upon and improve the said land, with themselves and families, by the space of two years next ensuing,—or, being settled thereon, shall leave and desert the same, and not return to their respective habitations in the said town, upon due notice given,—that then, in such case, it shall and may be lawful to and for the rest of the grantees and their associates, heirs, or assigns, respectively, or the major part of them, to seize upon and take the said estate or estates of such person or persons so deserting. Excepting always, and reserving to *Gabriel Bernon*, merchant, the whole of his right, grant, or purchase, which made one of the original proprietors, as by deed or record thereof may appear.

“*In witness whereof*, The parties above named to these presents have hereunto interchangeably set their hands and seals, the 8th day of July, in the 12th year of her Majesty’s reign, Anno Domini, 1713.

“(Signed),

“J. Dudley,
William Taylor,
Peter Sargent,
Mehetable Sargent,

John Danforth,
Elizabeth Danforth,
John Nelson,
Elizabeth Nelson,
and each a seal.

“Boston, July 15, 1713—Received and recorded with the Records of Deeds for the county of Suffolk, Book xxvii, p. 174.

“*Per* ADDINGTON DAVENPORT,

“Attested,

Register.

JOHN TOWN,

Clerk of Oxford.”

Taken from 1st book of the “Town Records.”

The following is the first division of the proprietors' lands. Drawn by lot, January 18, 1714-15. To each man of the thirty families, for his house lot. Each lot to be thirty acres:

- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1 Daniel Eliot, J.,, | 16 John Collier, |
| 2 Ephraim Town, | 17 Joshua Whitney, |
| 3 Samuel Hageburn, | 18 Joseph Rocket, |
| 4 Benoni Twitchel, | 19 Ebenezer Learned, |
| 5 Isaac Learned, | 20 Joseph Chamberlain, |
| 6 Joshua Chandler, | 21 Thomas Huskins, |
| 7 Ebenezer Humphrey, | 22 Edmund Taylor, |
| 8 David Pierson, | 23 Ebenezer Lamb, |
| 9 William Hudson, | 24 Nathaniel Chamberlain, |
| 10 Benjamin Nealand, | 25 Jonathan Tillotson, |
| 11 Joseph Chandler, Jr., | 26 Oliver Collier, |
| 12 Daniel Eliot, | 27 John Chandler, Jr., |
| 13 Abiel Lamb, | 28 Benjamin Chamberlain, Jr., |
| 14 Thomas Gleason, | 29 Abraham Skinner, |
| 15 John Town, | 30 Israel Town. |

The first vote recorded on the proprietors' books is under date, "September 13, 1713:" *Voted*: "That Peter Shumway* shall come in as an inhabitant of Oxford upon the right of Joshua Chandler."

MUNICIPAL ORGANIZATION.

Upon due warning given, by warrant from John Chandler, Esquire,† one of her majesty's justices of the peace for the county of Suffolk, for the choice of town officers, a town meeting was held, July 22, 1713:

It was then voted that three persons should be chosen for selectmen for the present year.

Chose,	John Town,	}	<i>Selectmen.</i>
"	Benoni Twitchel,		
"	Joseph Chamberlain,		
"	John Town,	For	<i>Town-Clerk,</i>
"	Thomas Huskins,	"	<i>Constable,</i>
"	Oliver Collier,	"	<i>Highway Surveyor,</i>
"	Abiel Lamb,	"	<i>Tything-Man.</i>

All of whom were sworn before John Chandler, justice of peace.

* Peter Shumway was one of the French settlers in the first plantation, and the only one of the first that at this time united with the second. Andrew Sigourney came later.

† This John Chandler was a resident of Woodstock, then in the county of Suffolk.

The first charge in the town books, after the organization, was a law book, and book for town records, bought at the public expense of the town.

TOWN MEETING, NOVEMBER 19, 1713.

Voted: "That John Town, Samuel Hageburn, and Benjamin Chamberlain, should be a committee to lay out a minister's lot and burying-place."

MARCH MEETING, 1714.

Voted: "That each *lot man* shall pay his equal proportion of ten shillings a Sabbath, for a quarter of a year, to Mr. John James, for his preaching with us."

This Mr. John James was, no doubt, the first minister who preached to the people of Oxford, who composed this second colony for the settlement of this town.

FIRST MEETING-HOUSE.

JULY 29, 1714.

Voted: "To build a meeting-house thirty feet square, and eighteen feet stud, and to set the house on the west side of the highway, near Twitchel's field."

This location is understood to be near the north-east corner of the *old* burying-ground. A committee being raised for the purpose, it was voted "that every lot man should pay his equal proportion of labor for building the meeting-house, as the committee shall direct, or pay two shillings and sixpence a day for every day's neglect, in money, to said committee."

The finishing of the house seems not to have been accomplished for some years. This delay was evidently from the want of ability to do so. In 1716 the town chose a committee to petition the General Court for aid in supporting the Gospel, but with what success does not appear.

In 1715 Rev. Benjamin Shattuck was engaged by a committee of the town for two days, and received, for compensation, thirty shillings. The committee were directed to treat with him for further services.

The next year, 1716, the town raised £30 for the support of preaching the Gospel. At this time there was no organized church in this plantation, so that whatever was done to procure a minister devolved on the town authorities.

October 7, 1718, Mr. John McKinstry was invited by the committee of the town to preach. It appears that there was a strong desire among the people to secure his settlement as their minister.

As an inducement, it was voted by the proprietors, "that he should be an equal proprietor with the rest of Oxford Village." It was voted by the town, "that he be offered a salary of £60, a hundred acres of land, and £60 to be paid in labor in building, breaking up the ground, and in fencing."

This generous offer was not accepted; no reasons are recorded. Mr. McKinstry was afterwards settled as the first minister of Sutton. He was born in Scotland, and educated at the university of Edinburgh.

It is not improbable that he might have been an acquaintance, and, perhaps, a fellow-student of Mr. Campbell, who afterwards became the minister of Oxford.

In 1720 the selectmen of the town applied to the association of neighboring ministers for their advice respecting Mr. John Campbell, a candidate for the ministry, then in their employ as their minister.

The association replied as follows :

WOODSTOCK, *September 7, 1720.*

"We, the subscribers, having been acquainted with the Rev. Mr. Campbell, now of Oxford, do approve of him as a person endowed with ministerial accomplishments. We hope and believe that, by the blessing of Heaven, he will serve to the glory of God and the spiritual edification of souls, in the place where Divine Providence shall fix him in the Gospel ministry.

" (Signed) Josiah Dwight,
John Swift,
John Prentice,

Joseph Baxter,
Robert Buck,
Joseph Dorr.

" *To the Selectmen of Oxford.*"

It appears, from the records of the town, that Mr. Campbell had been employed a few months previous to the date of the letter from the association, before referred to, and that the people had a great desire to settle him.

July 15, 1720, a committee of five, of which John Town was chairman, was chosen and instructed to make definite proposals to Mr. Campbell in reference to his settlement.

This committee presented the following report :

“In the name of the inhabitants of the town: 1st. We called the Rev. John Campbell to be our minister. 2d. We promised to the said Mr. Campbell £60 salary. 3d. That the said Mr. Campbell himself, his heirs, and assigns, have freely given them the lot already laid out for the first minister of Oxford, with the rights thereunto belonging, and one hundred acres joining the above, if it can be had; if not, where it can be conveniently had. 4th. That we will give the said Mr. Campbell one hundred pounds settlement, in work, as reasonably as others have work for the money in Oxford; twenty-five pounds of it to be paid quarterly, as shall be directed by Mr. Campbell, *provided he shall be willing to live and die with us in the work of the ministry.*”

The following reply was made by Mr. Campbell to the committee who made the call :

“GENTLEMEN: I have your call and proposals before me, and, upon mature deliberation, I accept your call and proposals to me, and hereby promise to be willing to continue with you in the work of the ministry as the Lord shall enable me, provided you continue a ministerial people.

“JOHN CAMPBELL.”

Some three months before the ordination of Mr. Campbell a church was formed, by the aid of neighboring ministers, on the basis of the following covenant :

“We do now, under a soul-humbling and abasing sense of our own utter unworthiness of so high a privilege as God is graciously putting into our hands, own and accept of God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, for our God, in covenant with us, and do accordingly give up ourselves and our seed, according to the terms of the everlasting covenant, to Him, to be His, under the most sacred and inviolable bonds; promising, by the strength of His grace (without which we can do nothing), that we will

walk as becomes saints, according to the rules of God's Holy Word, submitting ourselves and our seed to the government of the Lord Jesus Christ, as Head of the Church, and to the watch and discipline of this church; managing ourselves toward God and man, all in civil and sacred authority, as becometh those who are under the teachings of God's Holy Word and Spirit; also, declaring it to be our resolution, that, in all things wherein we may fall short of duty, we will wait upon God for His pardoning mercy and grace, in and through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom be glory forever."

The following persons, who were members of other churches, mostly in Roxbury and its vicinity, signed this covenant :

NAMES.

John Town and wife,	Israel Town and wife, —
Benj. Chamberlain and wife,	Benoni Twitchel and wife,
Isaac Learned and wife,	Joseph Willey and wife,
John Cummings and wife,	Samuel Barton and wife,
Abraham Skinner and wife,	David Town and wife,
Ebenezzer Learned and wife,	Nathaniel Chamberlain and wife,
Philip Ammidown and wife,	Thomas Gleason and wife,
Abiel Lamb and wife,	Collins Moore and wife.

The church being now formed, according to the Congregational usage, they, in their ecclesiastical character, chose Mr. Campbell for their pastor, which they would have previously done, had the church been formed.

By vote of the church (with which the town concurred), the ordination was appointed for March 1, 1721. The ordination services were as follows, viz. :

“ Introductory Prayer, by Rev. Joseph Dorr, of Mendon.
 Sermon, by Rev. John Prentice, Lancaster. Ephs. vi, 18-19.
 Prayer before the Charge, by Rev. Josiah Dwight, of Woodstock.
 Charge, by Rev. Joseph Baxter, of Medfield.
 Prayer after Charge, by Rev. Robert Buck, of Marlborough.
 Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. John Swift, of Framingham.
 Benediction, by Rev. John Campbell, the pastor.”

THE SECOND MEETING-HOUSE.

As early as 1737—fifteen years after the erection of the first house for religious worship—the town began to agitate the

question of a new house. The population not only required more room than the old house afforded, but the northern part of the town, which extended into what is now Auburn, demanded a more central location.

Many town meetings were held, and much discussion was had on the location of the house. It was finally determined that it should be set near the center of the original grant for Oxford village, about 11,250 acres. This center is near where the present Town Hall now stands. It was, however, several years before the new house was built.

In 1748, though the new meeting-house was but partially finished, the town voted that "the congregation shall meet in the new meeting-house on the fourth Sabbath in this July, instant, to carry on public worship."

The next year the old meeting-house was sold to Moses Gleason for £66. The new house, though occupied, was not finished till 1752, at which time the town voted to accept the report of the committee appointed to *dignify* and appraise the pews.

What was the precise duty of said committee, and the process by which they arrived at their result, is a matter of some curiosity, as well as obscurity.*

The cost of the new house, as appears by the receipt of David Baldwin, the builder, was £640 14s. 11d.

September, 1752, it was voted, in town meeting, that "the pew next to the pulpit, on the east side, shall be the minister's pew." Also voted, that "those who were highest in the rates of their real estate towards building our meeting-house in Oxford proceed to draw their pews."

* It is believed that the term "dignify," as here used, was to give the preference, in the selection of pews, to those heads of families most noted in public affairs, and for their liberality in providing the means for the erection of the new house, and the support of public worship. It also extended to those most eminent in the church. This distinction was common in that day, but far different from the democratic tendencies of the present time.

OXFORD.

“The names of pew proprietors, and the valuation of pews, stands as follows, to wit:

	PEW No.	£	s.	d.
Col. Ebenezer Learned, - - -	3 - -	52	16	00
Dea. Samuel Davis, - - -	18 - -	44	00	00
Widow Elizabeth Mayo, - - -	14 - -	45	15	04
Captain Elijah Moore, - - -	8 - -	51	10	00
Rev. John Campbell, - - -	13 - -	46	12	11
Lt. Samuel Davis, - - -	1 - -	52	16	00
Jonas Pratt, - - -	17 - -	39	11	03
Edward Davis, - - -	2 - -	51	18	00
Josiah Kingsley, - - -	6 - -	41	16	06
Jonathan Pratt, Jr., - - -	19 - -	28	03	03
Duncan Campbell, - - -	5 - -	48	08	01
William Davis, - - -	22 - -	22	17	02
Ebenezer Coburn, - - -	20 - -	24	13	04
Ebenezer Humphrey, - - -	9 - -	48	08	01
Isaac Learned, Jr., - - -	10 - -	22	17	02
Joseph Philips, - - -	11 - -	39	11	03
Dea. Jonathan Town, - - -	12 - -	40	08	10
John Learned, - - -	16 - -	22	17	02
Lt. Thomas Gleason, - - -	23 - -	23	17	02
Thomas Davis, - - -	24 - -	23	17	02

“David Mackintire dissents against the proceedings, because, he says, that he has not his right in the distribution of the pews.”

In a warrant for a town meeting, May 26, 1761, is an article, to see if the town will grant any sum of money to pay the cost and charge of the Rev. John Campbell’s funeral that was appointed to be on Wednesday, 17th.

Ten pounds were granted for said funeral expenses.

It is to be regretted that nothing is recorded either in the town or church records concerning the latter part of the ministry of Mr. Campbell.

It is believed, however, that this venerable man retained his bodily and mental powers so as to perform the functions of his office down to the close of his life.

Some further notice will be taken of Mr. Campbell hereafter, in this work.

After the death of Mr. Campbell Rev. Ebenezer Grosvenor

supplied the pulpit, and received a call, both from the church and town, to settle here in the ministry; but, for reasons not mentioned, he declined the call.

The pulpit was supplied by various ministers, till November, 1764, when the Rev. Joseph Bowman was installed. Sermon on the occasion by the Rev. Ebenezer Parkman, of Westborough.

Mr. Bowman continued in the ministry with the church and people here, until dismissed, at his own request, in August, 1782. He suffered much neglect in receiving payment for his stipulated salary, which, during the struggle of the Revolutionary War, the people were unable to pay, and discharge their liabilities for town, state, and the general government expenses, at that time.

From the dismissal of Mr. Bowman to November, 1790—a period of near eight years—no entry was made on the records of the church. Of course, the church was without a pastor, and must have been reduced to a very feeble state. From the records of the town, however, it appears that money was raised, from time to time, for preaching, and committees appointed for occasional supplies for the pulpit.

In 1790 Mr. Elias Dudley was a candidate, and was ordained and settled as pastor of the church, April 13, 1791. The sermon on the occasion was by the Rev. Dr. Emmons, of Franklin: 1st Timothy, iv, 13. Mr. Dudley soon became infirm and depressed, and at his own request, repeatedly made, after a ministry of about eight years, was dismissed, by an ecclesiastical council, in 1799.

In September following Mr. James Davis preached for some months as a candidate.

After him, Mr. Samuel Brown was employed for near a year. In 1802 and 1803 Mr. Hubbel Loomis supplied the pulpit. Each of these gentlemen successively received an invitation to settle, but declined.

In March, 1805, Mr. Josiah Moulton was ordained and settled as minister over the church and town. Sermon on this occasion was by Rev. Mr. Wood, of Upton. In March, 1813, the following communication was made to the town by Rev. Mr. Moulton :

“TO THE FREEHOLDERS OF THE TOWN OF OXFORD.

“Gentlemen :

“Whereas, the raising of my salary by taxation upon the whole town is attended with considerable inconvenience, and seems to have been the occasion of no small disturbance; and whereas, I am not disposed to be the instrument of discord and contention in society,—it is therefore my desire and request that the contract formed between me and the town, in 1805, respecting said salary, be dissolved and close from and after the 27th of March instant.

“JOSIAH MOULTON.”

Mr. Moulton was dismissed by an ecclesiastical council in April, 1813, after a ministry of about eight years.

Here now commences an era in the history of the religious affairs of Oxford. Up to this date the Congregational minister had been supported by the town; his salary was raised by taxation, the same as all other town expenses, such as schools and repairs of highways, etc.

The fathers of New England were of one religion, and for many years no other religious faith was permitted to be established for public worship. It was deemed proper by them that all the population should, according to their ability, bear an equal proportion of the expense for supporting religion, as well as education, for both were deemed essential to the welfare of the community.

The laws of the commonwealth gave a preference to the Congregational denomination, then known as the standing order; and, while it authorized the assessment and collection of taxes for the support of this sect, it denied it to all other religious sects. This law gave great dissatisfaction as other

denominations of religion became established, and, finally, the Legislature passed exemption laws, protecting other sects from taxation for the support of the ministers of the standing order, under stated conditions.

An exemption law was enacted in 1757, providing that all parties claiming themselves to be Quakers, or Anabaptists, who desired to have their polls and estates exempted from such tax, should file a list of their names before the 1st day of February then next ensuing, and afterwards, during the continuance of this act, before the 20th day of July, annually, to the assessors of such town, and signed by three or more of the principal members of the meeting or sect to which they belonged, who were to certify their belief that the persons named in such lists were persons who were conscientiously of the persuasion therein set forth, and did attend such meetings. In some towns the names of all who belonged to the Anabaptists, or Quakers, were publicly read in town meeting, and a vote passed exempting such from taxation, as aforesaid, and releasing them from the obligation of filing a certificate.

The laws had been very rigid against both the Anabaptists and Quakers, but more particularly against the latter. Quakers were not allowed to be assessors, where a majority of the board had been elected to that office.

In this town, after the year 1813, the tax for the support of the Congregational minister was assessed upon only those who actually belonged to that society, and attended upon its worship.

This terminates the connection of the religious affairs of Oxford with the ordinary political matters. Henceforth they will be treated in this work under the separate head of "Ecclesiastical Affairs."

SCHOOLS.

It does not appear that there was any definite act of the town in reference to a public school till 1733, when it was voted that the selectmen should procure a school-master. In 1736 the town voted :

“ To build a school-house, fourteen feet wide by twenty feet long, with a chimney at each end. To be located near the meeting-house.”

This, it appears, was a central house. To accommodate the remote parts of the village (the whole east side of the town being so called), several houses were erected, in which the school was alternately kept, by the direction of the selectmen.

In 1740 Richard Rogers was hired by the selectmen, on a salary of £60, for a year, to teach in such places as they shall direct. Four places are specified—two at the north, and two at the south ends of the town ; a quarter of a year in each place.

Mr. Rogers seems to have become a fixture in his profession; his salary was voted regularly from year to year. In 1751 the town voted :

“ To build a house for Mr. Rogers to live in, as long as he shall be our school-master; to be placed on the town’s lands near the meeting-house; to be sixteen feet wide and eighteen feet long.”

In 1762 the town voted :

“ To sell the house which our late school-master lived in.”

So that he must have kept school in town at least twenty-two years.

This long service is facetiously alluded to in one of his receipts, on file with the town papers :

“ Oxford, May 8, 1747.—Then reckoned with the selectmen, and received £60, in full, for keeping school in said Oxford, from the beginning of the world to this day. I say received by me,

“ RICHARD ROGERS.”

PROCEEDINGS OF THE TOWN IN TIME OF THE
REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

Nothing of special interest appears on the records of the town till 1774, when great excitement pervaded the whole of the English colonies, springing from the oppression of the mother country, and violation of their chartered rights; and in Massachusetts, more especially, from the hostile attitude of General Gage, at Boston.

The following was an article in the warrant for town meeting, May 17, 1774 :

Article 3d.—“To see if the town will give their representative any instruction concerning the making good the damage done in destroying the tea in the harbor of Boston some time since, and do and act thereon as the town shall think proper ”

This article was dismissed, and not brought to a vote.

The following record will show the spirit of the people in reference to the existing difference between the mother country and the colonies. At a meeting of the freeholders and other inhabitants of the town of Oxford, assembled on the 29th of September, 1774, voted :

“To choose Edward Davis, Esq., Moderator.

“1st. *Resolved*, That, as by the late acts of Parliament we are deprived of the constitutional laws of the government of Massachusetts Bay, we will endeavor to maintain and keep peace and good order in this town; to support and uphold all civil officers in the execution of their offices, so far as they conform themselves to the charter rights of this government, and assist them duly to punish all offenders against the same laws; to bear testimony against all riots, as well as against any number of men collecting in bodies together to hurt the person or property of any one.

“2. *Resolved*, That we ever have been, and will be, true and loyal subjects of our most gracious Sovereign, George III, King of Great Britain, so long as we are permitted the free execution of our charter rights.

“3d. *Resolved*, That, considering the present alarming and distressed circumstances of this province, it is highly necessary for the military

officers of this town to resign their commissions, and, therefore, do advise the said officers to resign accordingly; and that the soldiery, as soon as may be, to elect the same officers to take the command of the different companies in this town, if they will accept, and the major part of the soldiery shall elect them; and if any refuse to serve, then to choose others, experienced in the arts of war in their stead."

At the same meeting voted and chose:

"Dr. Alexander Campbell and Capt. Ebenezer Learned to attend the Provincial Congress, at Concord, on the second Tuesday of October next, or at any other town in the province that shall be agreed upon.

"The foregoing resolves are passed, with no other aim or view than to keep peace and order in this town, until we can hear of some measures taken by the Continental Congress, now sitting at Philadelphia, to which we mean strictly to adhere."

The Continental Congress, which was then in session at Philadelphia, resulted in the publication of a "Bill of Rights," which was submitted to the people. One article of high practical importance was the "Non-Importation Compact." They agreed, and associated themselves and their constituents, under the sacred ties of virtue, honor, and the love of liberty, not to import or use any British goods after the 1st day of December, 1774, particularly the articles of tea and molasses.

Committees were to be appointed in every place to see that this agreement was observed, and those who violated it were to be denounced as enemies to the rights of their country.

Of the great men who composed this Congress, Lord Chatham remarked in the British Parliament as follows:

"That, though he had studied and admired the free states of antiquity—the master-spirits of the world—yet, for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, no body of men could stand in preference to this Congress; in the presence of their own peculiar difficulties, did not forget the cause of suffering humanity, but made, with other resolutions, one by which they bound themselves not to be in any way concerned in the Slave Trade."

The recommendation and doings, both of the Continental Congress and the Provincial Congress at Concord, were read

in open town meeting in this town, and unanimously approved; and at the same meeting a committee of inspection was appointed to see that these measures recommended be duly observed.

At the same meeting :

Voted: "That the province tax now in the Constable's hands be paid into the town treasury, and there remain till further orders; and if the Constable be put to any cost for withholding the money from the province treasury, the town will pay the cost."

By these votes, especially the last, the town had fully committed itself to the cause of the Revolution.

It is worthy of note to observe the perfect uniformity of sentiment in the interior towns of Massachusetts. Each was a miniature representative of the cause and principles which then agitated the whole country.

At a town meeting, July 8, 1776, four days after the Declaration of Independence at Philadelphia, and before the intelligence of that event was received, the following vote was passed :

Voted: "To advise our representative in the General Court, that if the honorable Congress should, for the safety of the colonies, declare themselves independent of the kingdom of Great Britain, to concur therewith; and the inhabitants of this town do solemnly engage, with their lives and fortunes, to sustain the measure."

It is interesting to notice the transition from allegiance to the King of Great Britain to the new government of the State, as it appears in the warrants for town meetings. The warrant for March meeting, in 1775, is in this form, viz. :

"The freeholders of this town are hereby required, in the name of his majesty, to meet," etc.

One month later the form of the warrant reads as follows :

"The freeholders, etc., are requested and desired to meet," etc.

Then, on the 12th of October, 1776, the style of notice is changed to the following form :

“The freeholders, etc., are notified and warned, in the name of the Government of the people of this State, to meet,” etc.

SOLDIERS OF THE REVOLUTION.

The number of names of volunteers and men drafted for the army from this town are not found upon its records. The list here given has been obtained from the recollection of aged persons, recently living, and from the office for the payment of pensions to Revolutionary soldiers. The number of Revolutionary soldiers, as ascertained, who served from this town, are as follows :

Gen. Ebenezer Learned,	Elisha Blanden,
Capt. William Moore,	Francis Blanden,
Capt. John Nichols,	Jonas Blanden,
Lieut. Benjamin Vassall,	Sylvanus Learned,
Lieut. Ebenezer Humphrey,	Arthur Daggett,
Lieut. Jacob Town,	Elisha Ward,
Jason Collier,	David Stone,
David Lamb,	Ebenezer Robbins,
Frost Rockwood,	——— Sewell,
Ebenezer Pray,	Sylvester Town,
William Simpson,	Levi Davis,
George Alverson,	Elijah Learned,
Caleb Barton,	Sylvanus Learned,
John Learned,	Richard Coburn,
David Town,	Jacob Learned,
Allen Hancock,	Silas Eddy,
Peter Shumway,	Solomon Cook,
Abijah Kingsbury,	Elijah Kingsbury,
Joseph Hurd,	Ezekiel Collier.
James Meriam,	

In September, 1776, a meeting of the town was called, by the recommendation of the General Court :

“To consider and determine whether the House of Representatives, together with the Council, in equal voice, shall form a system of government for the State for its future safety and happiness, and whether the same shall be made public for the inspection of the people before it be ratified by the Assembly of the Massachusetts Bay.”

The town very wisely chose a committee to consider the subject, and report. This committee met, attended to that service, and made report as follows :

“ *First.* It appears that if the present General Court is properly constituted to act on any matters since the Declaration of Independence, which is disputed, yet there is a very unequal representation of the several towns in the State at present, in that some towns are allowed to send a large number of members, barely in consideration of population, without regard to lands and real estate, which appears to be in consequence of an Act passed by a former General Court, when there was a very thin house; and therefore the present General Court is not in a situation to act on matters of such importance as forming a constitution for after generations in the State.

“ *Whereas,* Mature consideration and deliberation appears necessary to be used in a case of such importance, we apprehend it should not be proceeded upon unless there is a more equal representation, and taking some further time for consideration and information touching said matter.

“ OXFORD, *September 7, 1776.*

“ ALEXANDER CAMPBELL,
 “ EDWARD DAVIS,
 “ EZRA BOWMAN,
 “ WILLIAM PHIPPS.”

The following are some facts relating to Colonel, afterwards General, Learned :

In 1775, immediately after the battle of Lexington, Colonel Ebenezer Learned, with his regiment, reported for service at Cambridge, and, with Colonels Prescott and Warren, was ordered to join General Thomas at Roxbury. How long Colonel Learned remained with the army at that time does not appear. He was, however, in the army in 1777, as brigadier-general, and was present at the surrender of General Burgoyne.

For reasons not satisfactorily known, General Learned then left the service and never entered it again. He was considered a brave and humane soldier. He survived the Revolution about twenty years, and was honored in civil life; but no

monument commemorates his services, nor even indicates the time of his death or place of burial.

It is reported that Captain Stephen Barton stated that General Learned was buried in the old cemetery on Oxford Plain, and that his grave was near that of his father, Colonel Ebenezer Learned.

As in most towns at that period, some part of the people of Oxford were not favorably disposed toward the efforts for the Revolution; but the records of the town show its promptness and liberality in aid of the cause.

In 1777 the town voted "to add to the bounty offered by the American Congress and this State, the sum of £14 to each man who shall enlist in the town as a private soldier for three years, or during the war, before any draft be made." At the same meeting, it was voted "to raise £1,000, to be assessed on the polls and real estate in the town, to complete the quota of soldiers now sent for to reinforce the Continental army."

In the same year the town voted to choose Daniel Griffith "to carry the evidence of those that may be proceeded with as being inimical to the United States of America, to the Court, as is by law directed." No number or name is recorded, and no further record appears, touching this subject, of those opposed to the war or the American Union, for its efforts for independence.

In addition to various installments of money, clothing, and aid afforded to the families of soldiers in 1780, the town voted "to provide 5,760 pounds of beef for the army."

The numerous and heavy drafts for this cause rested heavily upon the people, as appears from numerous petitions for abatement of taxes.

In 1778 the town voted "concurrence with the Articles of Confederation proposed by the American Congress," and at the same meeting voted to "pay £800 into the State treasury."

In August, 1779, the town chose Ebenezer Learned, Esq., and

Ezra Bowman, delegates to the State Convention at Cambridge, to aid in forming a constitution of government for the State.

The first election of State officers was held, September 4, 1780. The votes polled were as follows :

For Governor,	-	-	John Hancock,	-	-	-	-	21 votes.
“	“	-	-	James Bowdoin,	-	-	-	2 “
“	Lieut.-Governor,		James Bowdoin,	-	-	-		10 “
“	“		Artemus Ward,	-	-	-		11 “
“	Senators,	-	-	Edward Davis,	-	-	-	11 “
“	“	-		Seth Reed,	-	-	-	9 “
“	“	-	-	William Demmon,	-	-	-	14 “
“	“	-		Moses Gill,	-	-	-	4 “
“	Councillors,	-	-	Israel Nichols,	-	-	-	9 “
“	“	-		William Payne,	-	-	-	10 “
“	“	-	-	Jonathan Ward,	-	-	-	13 “

The doings of Oxford in regard to the Revolution is almost a duplicate of the acts of the other towns of the State, particularly of those in its vicinity.

Their vigilance is shown by the choice of a committee in almost every town, called the “Committee of Correspondence, Inspection, and Safety,” whose duty it was to keep the town informed of the movements of the American Congress, the State government, and that of other towns ; also, to keep watch of any parties inimical to the Revolutionary cause, and to report their names to a “Vigilance Committee” of the State, that they might be proceeded against if their conduct was worthy of notice.

THE OXFORD ARMY, UNITED STATES TROOPS.

In October, 1799, a detachment of the United States army, in the administration of the Federal government by President John Adams, was stationed at Oxford, under command of Colonel Rice.*

* This Colonel Rice was Nathan, son of Rev. Caleb Rice, the first settled minister in Sturbridge, a graduate of Harvard university, in 1773, and having served for a time in the war of the Revolution, he received a colonel's commission afterwards in the service of the United States, and, in 1798 and 1799, served in command of the troops here stationed ; afterwards removed to Burlington, Vermont, and died there about 1830.

They consisted of four regiments, and were encamped on the hill west of the present post-office.

In the following June they were disbanded. Nearly \$100,000 in specie was disbursed here to the soldiers, and other expenses.

Whether this was an advantage to the town, or not, is a question not easily solved. The quartering of troops among the citizens of towns has a corrupting influence, not to be compensated by money.

The raising of these troops and the expenses to the Federal government, by what was called, by opposing parties, "Adams-army," proved an unpopular affair for Mr. Adams' administration, and, although a wise and very popular precaution, was made use of by his opponents to influence public opinion against him.

TERRITORY OF OXFORD.

By the survey made of the territory of Oxford, in 1688, the number of acres, as then stated, was 41,245. It then embraced what has since become Charlton, about a third of Ward or Auburn, and a large part of Webster.

In 1732 there was annexed to this grant a part of what was then known as "Oxford South Gore;" and, in 1735, another tract of land, on its south border, known then as the farm owned by Paul Dudley; making its contents, at this time, fully 45,000 acres.

Its first dismemberment began with setting off the west part of its territory to form the town of Charlton in 1754. Then was taken a large tract on the north border, to form the town of Auburn, in 1778—about one third of that town. Thus, when this town was surveyed by the order of the Legislature of 1794, for the purpose of a map of the State, its contents then were only 17,336½ acres. To this was added, in 1807, another large piece of the South Gore; and, in 1809,

twenty-six acres taken from Charlton, being part of land of Amasa Kingsbury, which increased her territory to about 18,000 acres, when the south part was taken to make, with a part of Dudley, the town of Webster, in 1832. This south part, taken for Webster, contained much of the most valuable water-power within its limits—that which was purchased in 1812 by Samuel Slater, as is more particularly described in the historical sketch of Webster.

By the operations of Mr. Slater, by erecting extensive cotton-mills, bleaching and dye works, and also mills for the manufacture of wool, it gave an increase of population, which induced Mr. Slater and Sons, and others, in 1830, to petition for a town, to include, with this part of Oxford, a part of Dudley, lying east of French river.

This effort for a new town was resolutely opposed by both the old towns, as taking from them their most valuable water-power, the principal reliance for an increase of their wealth and population. It was claimed, in the argument on the part of Oxford, that, should this petition be granted, it would reduce her territory to about 15,000 acres, and take from her about 600 of her inhabitants. However urgent was the remonstrance by these old towns, it did not prevent the exchange of the name—Oxford South Gore—for the celebrated name of Webster. The balance of Oxford North Gore was annexed to her territory, March 22, 1838.

TOWN HALL.

The town erected this hall in 1839, on the Old Common, about the centre of her territory.

TOWN AND STATE OFFICERS.

TOWN CLERKS.

John Town, for years 1713 and 1714. ✓
 Benoni Twitchell, for years 1715 and 1716.
 Richard Moore, for years 1717, 1718, 1719, 1720, 1721.
 John Comins, for years 1722, 1723.
 Richard Moore, for years 1724, 1725, 1726, 1727, 1728.
 Jonathan Ballard, for year 1729.
 Richard Moore, for years 1730, 1731.
 Isaac Learned, for years 1732, 1733.
 Richard Moore, for year 1734.
 Israel Town, for year 1735. ✓
 Isaac Learned, for years 1736, 1737, 1738.
 Eleazer Ward, for years 1739, 1740, 1741, 1742, 1743, 1744, 1745, 1746.
 John Wilson, for years 1747 to 1775, inclusive, 28 years.
 Samuel Harris, for years 1776 to 1799, inclusive, 23 years.
 Jonathan Harris, for years 1800 to 1812, inclusive, 13 years.
 Archibald Campbell, for years 1813 to 1819, inclusive, 7 years.
 Samuel Smith, for years 1820 to 1824, inclusive, 5 years.
 Benj. F. Town, for years 1825 and 1826.
 Charles S. Prentice, for years 1827, 1828, and 1829.
 Benj. F. Campbell, for years 1830 to 1837, inclusive, 8 years.
 Sylvanus Harris, for years 1838 to 1842, inclusive, 5 years.
 A. G. Underwood, for years 1843 and 1844.
 Willard Benson, for years 1845, 1846, and 1847.
 A. G. Underwood, for years 1848 to 1854, inclusive, 7 years.
 Wm. E. Pease, for year 1855.
 George F. Daniels, for year 1856.
 William E. Pease, for year 1857.

REPRESENTATIVES:

Captain Richard Moore, 1721.
 Captain Ebenezer Learned, 1726.
 Captain Ebenezer Learned, 1730.
 Samuel Davis, 1743.
 Benjamin Davis, 1749.
 Colonel Ebenezer Learned, 1751.
 Duncan Campbell, 1752 to 1755, inclusive.
 Edward Davis, 1756 and 1757.
 Duncan Campbell, 1758.

Edward Davis, 1759, 1760, 1761, 1763.
Joseph Wolcott, 1764, 1765, and 1766.
Edward Davis, 1767, 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771.
Captain Jeremiah Learned, 1772 and 1773.
Captain Ebenezer Learned, 1774.
Edward Davis, 1775.
William Campbell, 1776.
Edward Davis and William Hancock, 1777.
Captain William Hancock, 1778.
Edward Davis, 1779 and 1780.
Ebenezer Learned, 1783.
Jeremiah Learned, 1784 to 1793, inclusive, 10 years.
James Butler, 1794 and 1795.
✓ Sylvanus Town, 1798 to 1801, inclusive, 4 years.
✓ Sylvanus Town, 1803 to 1806.
✓ Abijah Davis, 1807 and 1808.
Abijah Davis and James Butler, 1809.
Abijah Davis, 1810 and 1811.
Abijah Davis, 1813 to 1819, inclusive, 7 years.
Abijah Davis, 1821.
Richard Olney, 1826.
Jonathan Davis, 1827 and 1828.
Same and Richard Olney, 1829.
Ira Barton and Alex. De Witt, 1830.
Ira Barton and Alex. De Witt, 1831.
Ira Barton and Alex. De Witt, 1832.
Stephen Barton and Benj. F. Campbell, 1836. ✓
Sylvanus Harris and Francis Sibley, 1838.
Sylvanus Harris and Francis Sibley, 1839.
Ebenezer Rich and Alex. C. Thurston, 1840.
Ebenezer Rich and Alex. C. Thurston, 1841.
Emory Sanford, 1842.
Israel Sibley, 1843.
Jasper Brown, 1844.
Erastus Ormsbee, 1845.
David Barton, 1846.
Jonas Bacon, 1847.
Paul Perkins, 1849.
David Wait, 1850.
Albert A. Cook, 1851.
Thomas Appleby, 1852.
Emory Sanford, 1853.
David Barton, 1854.
James M. Sanford, 1855.

George W. Hartwell, 1856.
 Lament B. Corbin, 1857.
 Ira Merriam, 1859.
 Seth Daniels and Geo. Hodges, 1860.
 Moses Stone, 1862.

MEMBERS OF STATE SENATE.

Ira Barton, Esq., 1833 and 1834.
 Alex. De Witt, 1842, 1844, 1850, and 1851.
 A. G. Underwood, 1855.
 Nathaniel Eddy, 1860.

MEMBERS OF CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.

Ebenezer Learned and Ezra Bowman, 1799.
 Richard Olney, 1820.
 Alexander De Witt, 1853 and 1856.

OXFORD BANK.

Incorporated, February 8, 1823.—Capital, \$100,000.

First Board of Directors.

Jonathan Davis,	Aaron Tufts,
Richard Olney,	Jeremiah Kingsbury,
Andrew W. Porter,	Henry Sargent,
Daniel Tourtellot,	Joseph Thayer.
Nathan Hurd,	

First President,	Jonathan Davis,	Elected March 13, 1823.
Second “	Richard Olney,	“ Oct. 7, 1833.
Third “	Aaron Tufts,	“ Oct. 3, 1836.
Fourth “	Alex. De Witt,	“ Nov. 20, 1843.
Fifth “	John Wetherell,	“ July 31, 1848.
Sixth “	John Jewett,	“ Oct. 1, 1849.
Seventh “	Emory Sanford,	“ Oct. 12, 1857.
Eighth “	Charles A. Angell,	“ Oct. 17, 1864.
First Cashier,	Sumner Bastow,	“ March 13, 1823.
Second “	Alvan G. Underwood,	“ Nov. 17, 1845.
Third “	W. Olney,	“ May 28, 1855.

The Oxford Bank changed into a National Bank, January 28, 1865.

Present Board of Directors.

Alexander De Witt,
 Samuel C. Paine,
 Emory E. Harwood,
 Allen L. Joslin,
 Chas. A. Angell,

Emory Sanford,
 Benjamin A. Corbin,
 James B. Campbell,
 S. Wm. Smith,

CHAS. A. ANGELL, President.
 W. OLNEY, Cashier.

OXFORD, *October 23, 1872.*

MANUFACTURING COMPANIES.

THE OXFORD CENTRAL COTTON AND WOOLEN
MANUFACTURING COMPANY, OXFORD.

This company was incorporated, October 17, 1814. The names of the corporators were Daniel Fiske, John Hudson, William S. Fiske, Henry G. Learned, Joel and Daniel Eddy, Amos Hudson, Ezra Lovell, and Sylvanus Pratt, with the name of the Oxford Central Manufacturing Company, for the purpose of manufacturing cotton and woolen cloth and yarn, in the said town of Oxford, with the right to hold and possess real estate not exceeding \$50,000, and personal estate not exceeding \$100,000, for the carrying on the said business in the said town of Oxford.

THE OXFORD COTTON MANUFACTURING COMPANY,
OXFORD.

This company was incorporated, June 13, 1815. The names in the Act of Incorporation were: Charles Cleveland, Jacob Rich, Joseph Stone, William P. Ryder, Sylvanus Coburn, Jonathan Rice, Benjamin Eddy, Samuel Waters 2d; Israel Stone, Junior, Thaddeus Hull, Sylvester McIntyre, Elijah Waters, Jerah Stone, William Hull, and Elijah Rich, for the purpose of manufacturing cotton yarn and cloth in the town

of Oxford, with the right to hold and possess real estate, \$30,000, and personal estate, \$50,000.

THE OXFORD WOOLEN COMPANY, OXFORD.

The mill originally built by this company, located on the border of French river, about a mile west of Oxford village, was erected in 1824. The names of these proprietors were Lyman Tiffany, of Boston; Richard Olney, Stearns De Witt, Alexander De Witt, Samuel Dowse, and a Mr. Morgan, of Oxford.

THE OXFORD THREAD FACTORY, OXFORD.

The purchase of real estate, land and water power, was under date of June 24, 1823, and the work for erecting this mill was then immediately commenced. The four De Witt brothers were the proprietors—Captain Stearns De Witt, Hollis De Witt, Archibald De Witt, and Colonel Alexander De Witt.

MILLS AT NORTH OXFORD.

There is a large granite-mill for the manufacture of wool, founded by Abisha Learned, Esq., and several cotton-mills, all erected nearly thirty to forty years since, but with many valuable additions and improvements which, at this time make this part of the town one of its most enterprising sections. The exact history of these mills, and the names of most of the original founders, have not been ascertained.

These mills are supplied with their water-power from the sources of the French river that come down from Leicester.

ECCLESIASTICAL.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CONGREGATIONAL SOCIETY.

THE acts relating to this society are included with the records of the town affairs up to the year 1813 ; as, by law, this was the recognized society of the town, and the support of the minister and the expenditure for the erection of the meeting-house, and incidental charges connected therewith, were items of taxation, the same as the support of schools and roads, and assessed upon all the real and personal property of the town. This mode of supporting religious affairs was very proper so long as there was but one faith and religious sentiment among the citizens of the town ; but, as there arose a difference of religious sentiment, this plan of support became odious, by compelling many to pay for the support of a faith opposed to their religious belief.

Besides the spirit of oppression which this compulsory law produced, it was in violation of the spirit of the great central principle which was the foundation of the Reformation—freedom of thought, and the right of private judgment.

The Legislature, through a period of more than 100 years, had attempted to remedy this obnoxious law, and had passed a number of acts as reliefs ; but these acts were but palliatives, not satisfactory to those who felt themselves wronged, and deprived of those inalienable rights belonging to all members of the common body politic—a perfect equality before the law.

In time, the oppressive spirit of this law induced many conscientious persons of the standing order of faith, to oppose its execution, and some societies of that order voluntarily relinquished all right of taxation, except upon the property of those who agreed with them in religious sentiment, and who assented to such tax.

It was found by experience that the principle of voluntary support was all that was required, and that the societies that had adopted this mode were abundantly successful in their efforts.

Finally, the people of Massachusetts were relieved of this oppressive law—the relic of a past and bigoted age—in the year 1833, by an act placing all religious denominations upon an equality of rights in matters of faith and practice.*

The Congregational Society of Oxford came into the voluntary mode of religious support in 1813. At this time they formed a constitution and by-laws for the management of the affairs of the society, which was offered for the signatures of such as professed the faith of this denomination, and were willing to join in its support. They found no difficulty in enrolling members; very soon over 100 families appended their signatures, assenting to the voluntary principle.

The first minister under this new organization was the Rev. David Batcheller. He was installed in 1816. Peace and prosperity attended his ministry. The church was much increased and strengthened by his judicious and faithful labors. But his pastorate was short. He died in 1822.

In 1823 a call was given to the Rev. Ebenezer Newhall, and accepted. He was ordained in December of the same year.

* This credit is due to Rev. Thomas Whittemore, D. D., for his services in the Massachusetts Legislature, as chairman of a special committee, moved by him, for effecting a change in the "Bill of Rights," or constitution of that State. This was in 1831. He continued as chairman in 1832 and 1833 of same committee, and finally effected this change by "an act," which passed both houses, and approved by the people, giving perfect religious liberty to all denominations.

The following year the society was reorganized, under an act of the Legislature of that year, relating to freedom in public religious worship.

Under this reorganization the society has transacted its affairs to the present time.

During Rev. Mr. Newhall's ministry the society erected a new meeting-house. The funds for this purpose were obtained principally by voluntary contribution; the parties subscribing formed a society or corporate body by said act of Legislature, and the meeting-house was erected by this society, and became their property as proprietors, when finished. The whole cost was assessed upon the valuation of the pews in the same by an estimate according to favor in their location. Then the pews were all sold by public auction, for a choice, thus reimbursing the subscribers to the building fund, and placing the house in the hands of the purchasers of the pews, who became sole proprietors of the house.

This new house was dedicated the 3d of November, 1829. An appropriate sermon was delivered by Mr. Newhall, on the occasion, from the text, Psalms cxxxvii, 5.

Nearly a year before this Mr. Newhall's health became so feeble that he was unable to supply the pulpit, and for many Sabbaths provided preaching by others. In this affliction he received the sympathy and aid of his people.

That his people loved and respected their pastor, there is ample evidence.

A special meeting was called in September, 1828, to unite in some suitable manner to give expression to their sympathies in his behalf, when the following vote of the society was passed :

Voted: "That the society raise, by subscription, the amount of \$64, as remuneration to Mr. Newhall for money expended by him for the support of preaching during his illness."

Mr. Newhall's health, though somewhat restored, continued

feeble ; and he was led by this, and other circumstances, to seek a dismissal, and was dismissed by an ecclesiastical council, June 13, 1832.

It is pleasant to revert again to the evidence on record of the continued affection, both of the society and the church, toward their afflicted pastor. At his dismissal the society voted :

“ That, in consideration of the past services of the Rev. Mr. Newhall, and of the respect the society bear towards him, that his salary be paid him for six additional months ; he to render such ministerial service, during said time, as may suit his convenience.”

The church put on record the following, viz. :

Voted, unanimously: “ That this church expresses to the Rev. Ebenezer Newhall their full approbation of him as an exemplary Christian, as a discreet, affectionate, and faithful Christian pastor.”

Mr. Newhall was succeeded, in 1832, by the Rev. Loren Robbins, who was ordained in December of the same year.

In 1836, June 8, Mr. Robbins was dismissed by the same council that installed his successor, Dr. Bardwell. There were, on the catalogue of the church, 270 members at this time.

In 1726 Samuel Hageburn, one of the proprietors of the English settlers of the town, left, by will, fifty pounds for the use and benefit of the church, in manner as they might think best for any pious use.

The avails of this bequest have been, in part, expended from time to time, as appears from the records, for the benefit of needy members, for incidental traveling expenses of the pastor and delegates on church business, for books in the church library, and for furniture for the communion service.

In 1836 the church voted to appropriate what remained of the Hageburn fund to the erection of a vestry, for the use and under the direction of the church, provided a sufficient

amount should be raised by subscription, in addition, to effect the object.

At a subsequent meeting of the church it was

Resolved: "That the sum of \$300 (it being the full amount of the Hageburn fund remaining in the hands of the church), be applied to the building of a vestry."

About \$300, in addition, was raised by subscription for the object, and the vestry was erected.

In 1853 the proprietors of the meeting-house

Voted: "That the house be removed from the middle of the street, where it then stood, to the spot where it now stands; and also, that the church have permission, at their own expense, and for their own purposes, to place a basement story under the same, when removed."

This basement was fitted up by the avails of the old vestry and other grants of the church, together with subscriptions, at an expense of \$1,589.50. It is now the exclusive property of the church.

In 1857 a successful effort was made to transfer the ownership of the meeting-house from its original proprietors to the First Religious Society. A large portion of the proprietors liberally gave in their pews; and one individual, in addition to relinquishing two or more pews, gave \$500 to aid in purchasing of those who were unable or unwilling to relinquish their property to the society without pay.

The effect of this measure gave general satisfaction. The slips are now rented annually to the highest bidder. The finances of the society are far less complicated, and its present state is peaceful and prosperous.

The house, by a vote of the society, has recently been enlarged, at an expense of nearly \$3,000.*

* Much of the foregoing ecclesiastical history of the first church of Oxford is taken from a manuscript left by the late Rev. Horatio Bardwell, D. D.; and the following account of the settlement, pastorate, and death of Dr. Bardwell has been obtained, by request made by letter, from Mrs. Bardwell, widow of deceased. It is taken from a communication published in the *Congregationalist*, after the doctor's decease.

Rev. Horatio Bardwell, the successor of the Rev. Loren Robbins, was installed, June 8, 1836, and continued a successful pastorate over this society, until 1862, when, by his request, he was relieved of the active duties and responsibilities of the church; at which time an assistant pastor accepted the position, and officiated in his stead.

Finally, at the request of Dr. Bardwell, he was dismissed, June 5, 1864, and, at the same time, Rev. S. J. Austin was installed.

The whole pastorate of Dr. Bardwell was twenty-eight years. He died, May 5, 1866, aged seventy-seven years.

OBITUARY.

The following notice, by Rev. Seth Sweetser, D. D., appeared in the *Congregationalist*:

“The funeral of the Rev. Horatio Bardwell, D. D., was attended at Oxford on Wednesday, May 9, by a very large concourse, the meeting-house being closely filled. Prayer was offered at the house of his son by Rev. S. J. Austin, pastor of the church.

“The services at the meeting-house consisted of appropriate singing, reading of the Scriptures, and prayer by Mr. Austin; sermon by the writer of this article, from John xi, 25, and a prayer for the bereaved family and friends by Rev. Dr. Paine, of Holden.

“Dr. Bardwell, at the time of his death, was in his seventy-eighth year. He was born at Belchertown, Massachusetts, on the 3d of November, 1788. His father's family removed to Goshen in 1803. When nineteen years old he united with the church, and in the following year put himself under the care of his brother-in-law, Rev. William Fisher, with whom he studied until he entered the seminary, at Andover, in 1811. He was licensed to preach by the Haverhill Association in 1814, and ordained on the 21st of June, 1815, as a missionary of the A. B. C. F. M., at Newburyport, in company with Messrs. Richards, Poor, Meigs, Warren, and Mills, with whom, excepting Mr. Mills, he sailed for India in the ship *Dryad*, on the 23d of the following October. He joined this mission at Bombay, the first established by the Board, and continued to labor with them until the climate had so impaired his health that the only hope of saving his life was an immediate removal. He left Bombay, and arrived in this country in 1821, having been absent about six years.

“After the partial recovery of his health he was installed over the

church in Holden, in 1823, as colleague with Rev. Mr. Avery, who lived less than a year after. Mr. Bardwell was called into the service of the Board, to act as agent of Foreign Missions in 1832, traveling and preaching in behalf of the cause. In 1836 he was installed at Oxford, and continued his pastoral labors till about two years previous to his death.

“Mr. Bardwell was married, in 1815, to Miss Rachel Forbush, of Andover, who survives him. He also leaves four sons and one daughter.

“In 1841 Dartmouth college conferred upon him the honorary degree of A. M., and, in 1857, Amherst college the degree of D. D.

“The key to the entire life and character of Dr. Bardwell is found in his consecration to the work of missions. He pursued his studies just at the period when the churches began to be stirred with a new zeal for extending the kingdom of God among the heathen. It was an untried experiment, and demanded singleness of purpose, firmness of faith, and heroic self-denial.

“In giving himself then to the Lord, in an undertaking so arduous and perilous, he gave himself, without reserve, to the service of God for life. Whether in India or in his native land, it was his joy to live for Christ. Honored and beloved as a missionary, he was not less honored and beloved as a pastor. He gave full proof of the excellence of his spirit in the strength of his affections, his increasing watchfulness, and his care for the souls of his people.

“He was regarded by his brethren, and by all who knew him, as a man singularly unselfish, free from self-complacency, always ready to do, and always ready to yield; never shrinking from service, and never obtruding himself; always courteous, affable, and genial; always a man; a Christian always.

“He had the peculiar and somewhat unfrequent merit of making most of himself and his opportunities.

“He was conspicuously a diligent man, never slighting his pulpit preparations, and never neglecting the tasks assigned to him by his brethren. He was in the habit of writing out two sermons each week, and he continued this habit till the close of his pastoral office. His ministry was a successful one, marked by the members whom he was permitted to receive into the church, as well as the savor of a spiritual piety attending his preaching.

“He has left a precious name, and his words and his example will long continue to animate and cheer those who have enjoyed his friendship and his instruction.”*

* It is due to the late Rev. Horatio Bardwell, D. D., to state, that the writer of this historical sketch of Oxford procured from his widow, at the expense of \$150, paid by his voluntary offer, many valuable historical facts relating to its history; but mostly such facts as were gathered from the records of the town, and its different religious societies, and not fully prepared for publication.

THE OXFORD PARSONAGE ASSOCIATION, OXFORD.

This association was incorporated, December 11, 1816. The following were the incorporators named in the act: Nathan Hall, Elias Pratt, John Meriam, Stephen Prince, Sylvanus Town, Charles Town, Peter Butler, Ebenezer Meriam, Abijah Davis, Archibald Campbell, James Gleason, Samuel Coburn, Joseph Brown, Jun., Martha Kingsbury, and David Nichols, incorporated into a body politic, by the name of the "Oxford Ministerial Association." They were authorized to raise, by subscription, the sum of \$4,000, which was to be appropriated to the purpose of purchasing land, whereon to erect a parsonage house for the use of the Congregational minister in the town of Oxford, and for building said house and other necessary outhouses, under the direction of trustees; and the said land and buildings shall forever continue the property of the association, for the use aforesaid, and no other. Said property shall be divided into twelve shares of equal amount, to be distributed among the members of the association, proportionably, as they shall subscribe for the same; and said shares shall, at all times, be transferable, and may be conveyed by deed, or otherwise; and the owners of said shares or parts of shares shall be members of said association; and no person shall continue a member when he or she shall cease to have an interest in the shares as aforesaid.

There shall be a meeting of said association on the 1st of March, annually, at which time there shall be chosen three or more trustees, a clerk, and treasurer, and such other officers as

All these notes and preparations, as found, will be carefully arranged and deposited by themselves, to be preserved for any future use, in the care of the Southbridge Library, as will, also, all other collections of facts made in this connection by the writer of this historical sketch, together with all other collections connected with the other parts of his publications.

Dr. Bardwell had partially prepared a brief history of the Reformation in France, which does not appear in this connection, but such manuscript will be preserved as above. Thus the labors of the Doctor will not, in any particular, be lost, but preserved for the future use of such as may desire them.

may be necessary to manage the affairs of the association, and the trustees shall see that the same is exclusively appropriated for the purposes before mentioned, and shall give bonds to the treasurer for the time being, conditioned faithfully to discharge their trust.

A succession of officers is provided for, and the association have the right to make such by-laws as may be thought necessary, not repugnant to the constitution of this commonwealth. Each share entitled to one vote, and no more.

UNIVERSALIST SOCIETY.

The origin of the Universalist Society in Oxford, Massachusetts, dates back to the latter part of the seventeenth century. As early as 1777 there were persons of wealth and influence in Oxford, who professed a faith in the doctrine of the final salvation of all men, and who occasionally secured the services of clergymen of that faith.

There was, however, no church organization of the believers of that faith for several years afterward. Prior to that date tradition tells of the frequent visits to Oxford of one Dr. Isaac Davis, of Somers, Connecticut, who conversed much on the subject, and made several converts to the faith. Probably to him may be traced the origin of the sect in Oxford.

From 1777 to 1785 Elder Caleb Rich, of Warwick, and Elder Adam Streeter, of Douglas, who subsequently removed to Oxford, preached occasionally, and drew together many of the people of Oxford, and some from the adjacent towns, who soon became permanent supporters of the cause.

On Wednesday, April 27, 1785, a meeting was holden at the school-house on Oxford Plain, for the purpose of consummating a legal organization. At this meeting Dr. Daniel Fiske was chosen moderator, and the following declaration was adopted :

“ *Whereas*, A number of professors of the Protestant religion, being

principally of the inhabitants of Oxford, together with some persons of the adjacent towns, have, for a number of years past, assembled upon the Sabbath day, for public worship, and have attended to the instructions of Rev. Adam Streeter, and supported him by free contributions from time to time, do now resolve to form themselves into a religious society, in conformity with the laws of the commonwealth."

Ezra Conant was then chosen secretary, and Samuel Davis, Jun., Collins Moore, and Jonathan Davis, of Oxford, Ebenezer Davis, of Charlton, Ebenezer Rich, of Sutton, and Isaac Stone, of Ward (now Auburn), were chosen a select committee for the society, with power to grant certificates of membership, in the absence of a settled pastor. The society, thus organized, then voted to adopt the "Charter Compact" (society constitution) which had previously been obtained from the Universalist Society in Gloucester, Massachusetts; they also voted to denominate themselves the "Second Religious Society in Oxford," and the "Third Independent Religious Society in the Commonwealth called Universalist."

The first Universalist Society in Massachusetts was formed in Gloucester in 1780, and the second in Boston, about two years subsequent.

Elder Adam Streeter, who had been their religious teacher prior to the organization of the society, still continued to labor with them till the event of his death, which took place, September 3, 1786.

He was regarded as a truly religious and devoted man, and an able defender of the faith he professed. To the Universalist Society in Oxford we trace the origin of the ecclesiastical body formerly known as the "General Convention of Universalists of the New England States," and others, but now called "The United States Convention of Universalists."

On the 27th day of August, 1785, the society held a meeting, and voted to issue a call for an association of Universalist clergymen, and other persons of like faith, to be holden in Oxford, on the 14th day of September next, at 9 o'clock, A. M.

On the day appointed for the holding of said association, the Rev. Elhanan Winchester, of Philadelphia, was chosen moderator, and Dr. Daniel Fiske, of Oxford, clerk.

Then followed the further business necessary to the organization of the General Convention already named. This convention met in Oxford again, by special invitation of the society, in the years 1791, 1793, and 1794, and has not met here since.

It now meets only in the principal cities of the United States. The society in Oxford, annually, for a number of years, chose delegates to attend the meetings of the General Convention.

Immediately after the death of the Rev. Mr. Streeter, a meeting of the society was called by order of a select committee, and, after choosing Dr. Daniel Fiske, moderator, it was :

Voted: "To direct the select committee, as soon as may be, to procure for this society a public teacher, whose instructions we can conscientiously attend."

Voted: "That the remainder of the present year's subscription be appropriated to the use and support of Mrs. Streeter, widow of Rev. Mr. Streeter."

This meeting was holden, November 3; but the records fail to inform us who supplied the pulpit from that date to May 1, 1788, at which time the services of Rev. Elder Elkany Ingals, of Grafton, were secured.

April 19, 1789, Mr. Ingals was succeeded by Rev. Thomas Barnes, who appears to have remained pastor of the society till some time in the year 1793. Mr. Barnes was very highly esteemed in Oxford, both for his preaching talent and for his works' sake. During the ministry of Mr. Barnes the society was induced to erect a house of worship.

At a meeting, holden, September 4, 1791, it was voted to build a house forthwith. Samuel Davis, Captain Jonathan Davis, and John Mayo, were appointed a building committee. The house was built principally by subscription, each sub-

scriber giving his promissory note to the building committee, and the committee giving bonds to appropriate the money for the purpose for which it was subscribed. A small portion of the money was raised from the property possessed by the town for parochial purposes. The house was to be forty-six by forty-three feet dimensions, with a porch and tower in front, and of the Tuscan order of architecture. The building of the house was disposed of at auction to the lowest bidder, and was struck off to Captain Levi Davis, of Charlton, at £271, though including only the outside.

Soon after the erection of the house, a bell, weighing 713 pounds, was obtained, at a cost of £71 6s.

In 1793 the society voted to finish the inside of the house, the work to be disposed of to the lowest bidder, at auction. Mr. Simon Hathaway, of Sutton, secured the work at £237. During the year 1793 the society had preaching but one Sabbath in each month, and that by some preacher from abroad, not named in the records. In 1794 the society voted to engage the services of Elder Michael Coffin, of New York, for one half of the time.

Mr. Coffin's ministry with the society continued three years.

We do not learn from the records that the society had any minister with them, or any public religious meetings, from 1797 to April 1, 1801, from which time the Rev. Hosea Ballou and Rev. Edward Turner supplied the pulpit for four or five years. Some of the older members of the society, now living, inform us that the Rev. Jacob Wood was pastor for two years about this time, or not far from 1810; but the records give no account of his ministry.

From 1805 to 1811 the records of the society are very deficient, and more than indicate that the members of it were inactive. Not far from the last-given date many of the members belonging to the adjacent towns withdrew from the society, and but a small amount of money was annually

raised, which appears to have been expended for occasional preaching, and for repairs of the meeting-house.

At the early date of 1788 the society numbered about 130 members, forty-four of whom belonged in Oxford, twenty-nine in Charlton, sixteen in Sutton, fifteen in Thompson, fourteen in Woodstock, Connecticut; nine in Ward, and three in Sturbridge. The society generally chose three members, residents of Oxford, and one from each of the other towns, for a select committee. In the year last referred to, 1788, each member of the society subscribed for the support of the ministry, varying each from one shilling to one pound. This practice prevailed for some twenty years, or more, from the origin of the society.

We may suppose that those persons in the several towns in the vicinity of Oxford, who became members of this society, did so to avoid being taxed by the territorial parish in their respective towns for the support of a religion in which they had no faith, and felt no interest. Hence, when, at a later date, independent societies sprung up in their several towns, they withdrew from the Oxford society.

In 1811 and 1812 Rev. John Nichols preached one Sabbath in each month. Mr. Nichols was succeeded by the Rev. Richard Carrique in December, 1813.

Mr. Carrique preached a portion of the time for two years—perhaps for a longer period.

At a society meeting, holden, May 12, 1817, it was voted: “That General Jonathan Davis have the old subscriptions on the papers in Oxford, for the years 1815 and 1816, and clear the society from debt to this date.” At the same meeting the society voted to “build a spire on their house of worship;” and voted to “let the work of building the spire, making the bell-frame, and hanging the bell, to Rufus Moore, at the price of three hundred and forty dollars.”

In September, 1818, the society voted the Congregational

Society the use of their meeting-house one Sabbath in each month for one year, beginning the third Sabbath in November. The same year the society voted to raise the amount of \$550, by a tax on the pews, to defray the expenses of repairs on the meeting-house. A large share of the pews were sold at auction to pay the tax on them, and the society came near losing the control of the house by means of a change of the pew-holders.

From the year 1818 the society seems to have been in a very confused state for a number of years. The Rev. Joshua Flagg preached for them occasionally. The Rev. John Bisbee supplied the pulpit occasionally about this time; but the society was in a feeble state most of the time from 1818 to 1828.

In February, 1828, the society invited the Rev. Lyman Maynard to become their pastor; and, for two years or more, they seemed to prosper. A church of between twenty and thirty members was gathered under his labors. Soon after this some of the influential members of the society became dissatisfied with him; and, by their persevering opposition, in 1832, procured his dismissal. The Rev. Seth Chandler succeeded Mr. Maynard in 1832, and was dismissed, July, 1834.

In 1835 the Rev. John Boyden preached occasionally. In the same year the society voted to let their meeting-house to any other denomination, when not used by themselves; and the Methodist Society occupied it for a limited period.

In 1839 and 1840 the Rev. Gilman Noyes preached for the society a portion of the time. March 27, 1841, Rev. Alvin Abbott, of Sutton, was invited to preach for the society one half of the time. Mr. Abbott was succeeded in the spring of 1844 by Rev. Alfred Barnes.

During the ministry of Mr. Barnes, the old meeting-house was renovated and made into a neat and pleasant chapel, in

modern style, with a basement for mechanical and mercantile purposes. It was rededicated in May, 1846, and Mr. Barnes resigned his charge of the society the following week.

The society then invited the Rev. R. M. Byram to become their pastor; he remained with them about two years. The meeting-house having been owned by proprietors and pew-holders from 1845, the time it was remodeled and put into its present form, at a meeting of the society, December 21, 1848, it was voted to choose a committee of three, to draft an article for the purpose of purchasing the chapel of the proprietors and pew-holders, to be the free property of the society. Jacob Baker, Erastus Ormsbee, and John Barnes were chosen said committee, and the chapel was immediately purchased, and remains the free property of the society.

At a meeting held on February 10, 1849, the society voted to choose a committee to lease the basement-story and cellar of this house during its continuance; this committee was Israel Sibley, John Barnes, and Samuel Mayo.

On the 21st of April, 1849, the society, in consideration of the sum of \$1,600, to them paid by Erastus Ormsbee, Israel Sibley, and Nathaniel H. Rowland, voted to ratify the lease conveying the basement and cellar of the house to those gentlemen, as aforesaid, which lease still continues.

In April, 1849, the society engaged the Rev. Jacob Baker, of Dudley, to supply the pulpit. Mr. Baker continued to supply for three years. The society paid off their debts, and prospered well under his ministry.

In 1852 Rev. Albert Tyler became pastor of the society, and, in April, 1854, Mr. Tyler was succeeded by the Rev. H. Closson, who resigned his charge of the society in December, 1855. In 1856 and 1857 the pulpit was supplied during the warm season of each year by the Rev. O. H. Tillotson, of Worcester.

In March, 1858, Rev. George Proctor, the present pastor,

was invited to take charge of the society. The society has not been large for many years. At the present time it is small, but united, free of debt, and comparatively prosperous.

The author of this brief history of the Universalist Society of Oxford closes with the following :

“ The foregoing historical sketch of the Universalist Society in Oxford the undersigned believes to give a brief account of all the facts of its entire existence, of special interest to the public.

“ Signed,

“ GEORGE PROCTOR.”

BAPTIST SOCIETY.

A number of persons, whose names are here given, met, by previous appointment, on the 29th of March, 1837, to organize a “ Baptist Society,” in that part of this town called North Oxford, at which time a constitution was adopted.

NAMES.

Jennison Barton,	Amasa Eddy,
William Copp,	Smith Bruce,
David Hull,	Elbridge Warren,
Robert Fittz,	Waterman Warren,
Maverick Jennison,	Ebenezer Newton,
David Stone,	Amos P. Newton,
David Holman,	William Dalrimple,
James Boomer,	Martin Boomer,
Ebenezer Cook,	Warren Bruce,
Fenner S. Hopkins,	David Jennison,
Flavel Leach,	Andrew J. Copp,
Jonathan Flagg,	Samuel Warren.
William Brown,	

In order to make their meetings legal, they applied to a justice of the peace to issue a warrant, directing the clerk of the society to put up, in public places, notice of the proposed meeting. On May 1, 1837, at a meeting legally called, those members who had, by unanimous vote, been dismissed from the Baptist church, in Auburn, met for the purpose of form-

ing themselves into a new church. Chose Josiah Godard, moderator ; William Copp, clerk of the meeting.

Voted : “ To adopt, as the articles of their faith, practice, and covenant, those which are used in the Worcester Baptist Association.”

Chose Jennison Barton and William Copp, deacons.

Voted : “ To call a council to recognize them as a Baptist church.”

Voted : “ That the council be requested to meet at the Baptist meeting-house in N. Oxford, on Wednesday, May 10th inst., and that Josiah Godard, Jennison Barton, and William Copp be a committee to meet with the council and receive the hand of church fellowship, in behalf of the new church.”

The council met at the time appointed, when the following persons were present, viz. : Rev. Jonathan Aldrich and Luther Godard, of Worcester ; Rev. John Green, of Leicester ; Rev. Charles H. Peabody and Deacon John Titus, of 1st church, Sutton ; Rev. Job B. Boomer, 2d church, Sutton ; also, brethren Harvey Fittz and John Paine.

The meeting was organized by the choice of Rev. Luther Godard, moderator, and Rev. John Green, clerk. Prayer was offered by the Rev. Job B. Boomer.

The ecclesiastical council voted unanimously to recognize those of this new organization an independent church by the name of the “ North Oxford Baptist Church.”

The council appointed Rev. Job B. Boomer to commend this new church to the Great Head of the church, by a consecrating prayer.

Rev. Harvey Fittz was appointed to address the church, and extend the hand of fellowship.

The following are the names of those who united to form this church, most of whom were former members of the Baptist church in Auburn :

Deacon Jennison Barton,	Josiah G. Warren,	Georgiana Barton,
“ William Copp,	Selah Barton,	Sally Warren,
Amasa Eddy,	Celinda Copp,	Elizabeth Newton,
David Hull,	Elizabeth Leach,	Relief Neushaw,
Robert Fittz,	Damaris Eddy,	Lucy Fittz,

David Stone,	Almira Hall,	Sophia A. Adams,
Flavel Leach,	Abigail Cudworth,	Selah Barton,
Samuel Warren,	Eleanor L. N. Howe,	Betsey Barton,
Maverick Jennison,	Mariah Brown,	Julia Ann Bruce,
Amos P. Newton,	Eluthier Hopkins,	Katherine Bruce,
Warren Bruce,	Mary Ann Streeter,	Julia Leach,
William Dalrimple,	Elvira Leach,	Dialther Lamb.

Thirty-six members.

A committee was now chosen to make arrangements for the dedication of their new meeting-house.

The meeting was now adjourned to one o'clock, P. M., to the meeting-house, for the services of dedication; at which time the house was dedicated in presence of a numerous audience, when the council was dissolved.

The house was built in 1836-'37; its dimensions are forty by fifty-two feet; it has a gallery for the choir, and a steeple and bell. It has fifty-four pews, and will seat between three and four hundred. Warmed by a furnace. It has a vestry beneath the church.

The meeting-house was built by subscription, and deeded to the deacons of the church and their successors, in trust, for the religious worship of the society forever.

March 13, 1838, this church gave a unanimous call to the Rev. A. Smith Lyon to become their pastor.

This call was accepted by Mr. Lyon, and he entered at once upon his labors here.

Soon after the settlement of Mr. Lyon with this church his labors were highly blessed. Nearly forty persons were hopefully converted.

March 28, 1847, after a pastorate of about nine years, Rev. A. S. Lyon, having been called to another field of labor, at his request, the church granted him a dismissal.

This church, on the 3d of June, 1847, gave a call to Rev. Solomon Gale. This having been accepted by him, Mr. Gale entered upon his pastorate forthwith. Another revival

occurred with the people of this church in January, 1848, and it was blessed with other converts.

Mr. Gale closed his pastorate here in June following.

The Rev. J. N. Hobart now supplied preaching here occasionally, when, on the 23d of December, 1848, the church gave him an invitation to become their pastor, which invitation being by Mr. Hobart accepted, he now commenced his pastorate.

On March 2, 1850, the church adopted the following stringent resolution, to wit :

“That no person who uses ardent spirits as a beverage, shall hereafter be admitted to membership with this church.”

April 25, 1852, by his own request, Mr. Hobart received a dismissal, to become pastor of the Baptist church in Bristol, Rhode Island.

The Rev. Joseph Hodges was called to the pastorate, June 3, 1852, and accepted. Mr. Hodges labored with this people acceptably for three years, and was dismissed on March 3, 1855.

On June 30, 1855, the Rev. J. E. Wood was called, and accepted; he continued his pastorate to May 24, 1857, when his labors closed here. Rev. A. Joy now preached to this people about six months acceptably.

In March, 1857, a call was given to Rev. C. M. Herring. He accepted the pastorate, and began his services on the second Sabbath in May following. Mr. Herring was much appreciated; his services closed here in October, 1859.

November, 1859, the church gave a unanimous call to Rev. Holmes Chipman, of Machias, Maine, to become their pastor; he accepted the call in December following, and entered upon the duties of his charge. At this date the members of this church were 121 in number.

The following remarks are, by Mr. Chipman, added to the foregoing :

“It is due to all the previous pastors of this church to say they labored faithfully in their calling.

Signed,

H. C.”

METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

The first sermon preached by a minister of the Methodist denomination here, was by Rev. Joseph Ellis, in the Universalist meeting-house, in the winter of 1835.

Other sermons were delivered by ministers from neighboring towns; but there was no regular preaching until after the session of the New England Conference, held the same year, when the Rev. Benjamin Paine commenced preaching in the Universalist meeting-house, which he was permitted to occupy for one year by a vote of the society.

On the 15th of September he had formed a class of twenty members, which increased in numbers so that at the next annual meeting of the New England Conference he reported, in full connection and on probation, eighty-one members.

At the Conference of 1836 Rev. Benjamin Paine was re-appointed, and it became a regular appointment, called “Oxford Station.” By permission of the Universalist Society he continued to preach in their house.

At the Conference of 1837 Rev. Thomas W. Tucker was appointed pastor, and was re-appointed at the Conference of 1838.

At the Conference of 1839 Rev. Luman Boyden was appointed pastor.

At the Conference of 1840 Rev. Wm. E. Stone succeeded Mr. Boyden as pastor in charge; during this year a church edifice was erected at a cost of \$1,400. In the year 1841 Rev. Freeman Nutting was pastor; this year the new house was dedicated, and the society enjoyed spiritual prosperity.

At the Conference of 1842 Rev. Horace Moulton was preacher in charge. In the spring of 1843 the house was enlarged by the munificence of Jonathan Sibley, Esq.

At the Conference of 1843, no pastor being appointed, the society was supplied with preaching by the Rev. Charles C. Burr.

Since which time the pulpit has been supplied by ministers appointed at the annual meetings of the New England Conference :

In 1844,	-	-	-	-	-	Newell S. Spalding.
1845,	-	-	-	-	-	Charles W. Ainsworth.
1846-'47,	-	-	-	-	-	Rev. Amos Walton.
1850,	-	-	-	-	-	" Damon Y. Kilgore.
1851,	-	-	-	-	-	" C. L. McCurdy.
1852,	-	-	-	-	-	" Mosely Dwight.
1853-'54,-	-	-	-	-	-	" Wm. A. Braman.
1855-'56,	-	-	-	-	-	" Burtis Judd.
1857,	-	-	-	-	-	" Wm. Gordon.
1858-'59,	-	-	-	-	-	" Daniel Wait.

In April, 1860, the church membership was as follows:

In full connection,	-	-	-	-	-	127
On probation,	-	-	-	-	-	5
						<hr/> 132

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

On the second Sunday after Trinity, July 19, 1863, services were commenced in Sanford Hall, Oxford, with a view to the establishing, in this town, a parish of the Protestant Episcopal church. Different clergymen officiated from Sunday to Sunday, until the Rev. William F. Lloyd, of the diocese of Ohio, took charge of the enterprise on the 26th of October, being the nineteenth Sunday after Trinity, 1863.

On Tuesday, May 10, 1864, the parish was organized. On Tuesday morning, September 20, 1864, the corner-stone of the church edifice was laid by the Right Rev. Manton Eastburn, D. D., the bishop of the diocese of Massachusetts.

The address was delivered by the Rev. Francis Wheaton (since D. D. and LL. D.), rector of St. Paul's church, Brookline, Massachusetts, which was followed by a few words of

congratulation by the bishop. Several of the clergy of the diocese were present; there was also a numerous assemblage of the inhabitants of the town, and of church people of other places.

On Wednesday afternoon, May 11, 1865, the parish having been organized for the space of one year, and, during that time held regular pulpit services, and having acceded to the constitution and canons of the Protestant Episcopal church in the diocese of Massachusetts, was admitted into union with the convention of the same at its seventy-fifth annual session.

On Thursday, November 16, the church edifice was consecrated to the service and worship of Almighty God, the Father, the Son, the Holy Ghost, by the Right Rev. Manton Eastburn, D. D., bishop of the diocese of Massachusetts, many of the clergy of the diocese taking part in the services.

There was present, on this occasion, a large congregation from the town, and also from the neighborhood. On Monday, May 6, 1867, the Rev. William F. Lloyd resigned the rectorship of the parish, which resignation took effect on Monday, July 1, 1867. On the eighteenth Sunday after Trinity, October 20, 1867, the Rev. William Henry Brooks, D. D., began to officiate in the parish, and continues his labors here.

The church edifice, which is a very beautiful stone structure, in the Gothic style of architecture, cost, including the furniture, about \$1,800. The building and the ground upon which it is erected were fully paid for, and were free from lien or other encumbrance when the church was presented for consecration; had it been otherwise, the edifice could not have been consecrated, as the usage of the Protestant Episcopal church forbids the consecration of a church or chapel on which there is an encumbrance.*

* The foregoing brief history of Grace church, Oxford, was received by letter from the pastor, Rev. William Henry Brooks, D. D., July 24, 1868.

BIOGRAPHICAL.

CHAPTER V.

TIME has deprived those of the present age of much of the materials relating to the early ministers of this town. That which remains is largely traditional, particularly that which refers to the first minister, the Rev. John Campbell.

He was a native of the north of Scotland, born in the year 1690. He received his education at the university of Edinburgh, and, as reported, was a fellow-student there with Lord Loudon, and an intimate friend.*

The precise time when, and the circumstances which induced Mr. Campbell to come to New England, do not appear in any written evidence.

He, like most of the early Puritan ministers of these colonies, was highly educated, and, though unpretending, was a person of more than ordinary ability, possessing a sound and discriminating mind, firm and steadfast in his convictions of truth, yet amiable in heart and manner.

He, as it appears by tradition, filled, besides his duties as

* Lord Loudon was John Campbell, fourth Earl of Loudon, Baron Manchlane, one of the sixteen peers of Scotland, born in the year 1705, and succeeded to the title on the death of his father, Hugh Campbell, the third earl, November, 1731.

This Lord Loudon, having served in various offices in the military line in Scotland, previous to the year 1755, was appointed colonel of the 60th, or Royal American regiment, the 25th of December of that year, which was to be raised in Virginia, over which province he was appointed governor in February, 1756, when, also, he became commander-in-chief of all his majesty's forces in North America.

He sailed for America in May following, and arrived in July, 1756. It is inferred, from circumstances to be hereafter given, that the Rev. Mr. Campbell and Lord Loudon were relatives.

pastor, gratuitously, that of physician among his people. He, in many respects, was clergyman, physician, and judge.

His practical good sense, and known integrity, caused him to be sought after by his townsmen for deciding matters of dispute and controversy between them; and his decisions were acquiesced in as a finality, and generally proved satisfactory to the parties concerned.

Among the many instances of this judicial character tradition gives the following :

Two of his neighbors, A and B, who lived on the west side of French river, had fallen into a dispute arising from some petty trespass of cattle. The matter no sooner came to the knowledge of Mr. Campbell, than he appointed the day and the hour when he would come over, hear, and decide the case. The matter was examined, and judgment was given, that, as Mr. A was chiefly in fault, he should pay to Mr. B a certain sum in compensation, and that henceforth they should live in charity.

During the session, which extended into the evening, a violent shower had fallen, and the foot-bridge, over which Mr. Campbell had passed, was carried away. As it was dark, the two reconciled neighbors accompanied their minister to the river, and, finding the bridge gone, it was mutually agreed that Mr. A, who was a muscular man, should take the minister on his back.

Mr. A cheerfully assumed his charge, and had reached the middle of the foaming stream, when, by unwittingly stepping upon a rolling stone, he was compelled to deposit his burden in the river. After floundering for a time in the water, they arrived safely at the opposite shore. Mr. Campbell thanked his neighbor for his well-meant service, and reached home safe and sound, minus his hat and wig, which the current had borne away.

Some days afterwards a report came to the ear of the pas-

tor, that Mr. B had accused A of an intention to throw the minister into the river, because he had decided the case against him. Whereupon, Mr. Campbell reproved Mr. B most severely for cherishing, and, much more, for giving utterance to such an ungenerous thought, assuring him of his fears that he was destitute of that charity that thinketh no evil.

The only production of Mr. Campbell's pen that has come down to us is a 12mo volume of 300 pages, printed at Boston in 1743, "dedicated to my well-beloved congregation, and much desired in our Lord Jesus Christ." The following is from the title-page :

"A Treatise on Conversion, Truth, and Justification, &c. ; being Extracts from Sundry Discourses delivered at Oxford, in the latter end of the year 1741 and beginning of 1742.

"By John Campbell, V. D. M., Pastor of the Church there, and now published at the desire of his constant hearers and others."

The following is an extract from the dedication :

"Dearly Beloved—Whatever treatment this work may meet with from the wicked enemies of these divine truths, never to be slighted nor rejected, as the whole venture is immediately for your sakes, you are more especially obliged to answer the ends of it. You may, perhaps, show some candor and regard to me: but this is not enough for yourselves. If you go no further than a commendation of what you read in this or any other treatise of sacred things, and take no care to have them fixed in your hearts, and reduced into practice, our Gospel is naught, and you are lost. But, beloved, I am persuaded better things of you, and things that accompany salvation, though I thus speak.

"The following work is offered to the world with all due deference and respect to the many excellent performances of this kind we are already blessed with, done by far better hands than mine.

"The things are not new, and by me first discovered, as if no man's writings could afford them for your use but mine.

"No, blessed be God, these are subjects profitably taught by divers others; but every book cometh not to each man's hand; and, as in meats, the different kinds of dressing keep the appetite—the same meat prepared one way may content the stomach, which, in some other fashion, would not please; so, in books, the very self-same subject may better

satisfy in one special way of handling it than another. If anything of reading occur in the following sheets, I very willingly embrace this opportunity to present my humble thanks to our generous benefactors, who have made a collection of books for the use of the incumbent minister of this parish, which were of great help to me in composing this work. It is to be wished that other good gentlemen would follow their good example, in making a collection of this kind, for other poor parishes."

The following foot-note will explain the above allusion :

"The Honorable Judge Paul Dudley devised this liberal thing, and sedulously promoted it among gentlemen. The donors' names are in a catalogue of books, in *perpetuam doni memoriam*; I hope their names will be in everlasting remembrance with the Lord."

The treatise seems to have been written by Mr. Campbell more especially to guard his people against the acts of those denominated "New Lights." It evinces much and careful reading, and is thoroughly evangelical.

The sermon preached at the funeral of Mr. Campbell was in the hands of the late Dr. Bardwell. It was delivered by Rev. William Phips, A. M., pastor of the church in Douglas. (Mr. Phips afterwards became a citizen of Oxford, and died here. Some of his descendants are now in Auburn.) The text is Samuel II, 13. The following is an extract from the sermon :

"It is unsuitable, for various reasons, that I should undertake to give particular and exact account of his life and ministry, but duty and gratitude (to God and his memory) calls me, I conceive, to say something concerning what he was; of his extraordinary endowments, and of the extraordinary diligence and integrity with which he appeared to improve them while he was with us. He was born in the north of Scotland, in the year 1690, according to his own account; had a liberal education, and the honors of the university of Edinburgh; came to New England, it is said, in the year 1717, and was ordained pastor of the church in this place, March 11, 1721, which office he discharged among you (brethren) with great industry and fidelity, more than forty years, but is now no longer suffered to continue, by reason of death. He was esteemed one of penetrating and discerning understanding, of a peculiarly sagacious and enterprising genius, and of a very retentive memory, as furnished

with embellishing arguments, and more especially for his acquaintance with the affairs of history and State policy.

“It was thought by some that were likely to know, that few gentlemen of his opportunity could excel him, as also for laying out the economy and inspecting the affairs of his family, and necessary secular concerns, with dispatch and prudence, and so as to consist with a diligent application to the duties of the ministerial office.

“Where was the man that could order and manage well so much business in so little time as he could?

“Touching his doctrines, they were strictly of the Puritan scheme. He was a real and steady, but very candid, Calvinist. In common conversation he was peculiarly free and pleasant, but not vain.

“He was extraordinarily cautious and friendly to his acquaintance, and to all men, so far as opportunity occurred; and that he was specially so towards and among you, brethren, his own people, how many of you are the grateful and ready witnesses. You know he became your pastor when it was the day of small things with you, and that then and ever since he manifested no small love to you and concern for you.

“When did you ever find him unwilling to serve and promote your true interests, whenever the door of opportunity opened? Has he not kindly ministered to your bodies in distress, as well as to your souls? And when was the day, when was the night, what was the weather, what were the storms, or what the way, which hindered him from being quickly with you in your distress, when his strength and health allowed it? Yea, beyond it, of late. Has he not borne too hard upon his own firm constitution in his labors among you, and was he not willing, every way, as we may say, both to spend and be spent for you? Surely you will own (many of you, especially) that he has been a father to you in civil kindness, as well as in his ecclesiastical ministry. His heart has been with you; and he could, I believe as sincerely as most, say with the Apostle, that ye were in his heart, to live and to die with you. He also has been a peace-maker and peace-seeker among you—remarkably so; and, moreover, abroad in the land, and has been abundantly improved and blessed as a healer of difficulties and divisions in various parts of the country, for which, also, God had given him an extraordinary talent.

“Such a minister, and such a friend, brethren, you and we have lost, for such was Mr. Campbell. He has gone, and we shall see him no more. And is it a small loss? But own it great; yet, perhaps, it may seem greater; you may but begin to feel it. Surely, I conceive God has made a wide breach upon the churches in this vicinity, but more immediately upon the church and town of Oxford. Oxford! what thing shall I take to witness of thee? What thing shall I liken to thee? or what shall I equal to thee, that I may comfort thee? For the breach is great, like the sea; who can heal thee?”

The following obituary notice of the death of Rev. John Campbell appeared in the *Boston News Letter*, in Number 2971, soon after his decease:

“ OXFORD, *May 28th*, 1761.

“ On the 25th instant, died here, Rev. John Campbell, in the 71st year of his age, a gentleman generally beloved and esteemed. He came over to New England in 1717, was ordained pastor of the church here, Anno, 1721, where, with great wisdom and fidelity, he continued to discharge the several parts of his office for more than forty years. In his preaching he was strictly orthodox, much improved in ecclesiastical councils, and happy in the peace and harmony of the church here.

“ In his last sickness he sustained the prospect of approaching death with great serenity, as knowing Him in whom he had believed. His remains were decently interred yesterday; the funeral was attended, not only by the people of this town, but by great numbers from adjoining towns, and, in following the remains to the grave, formed an unusually long procession.

“ He has left a sorrowful widow, four sons, and two daughters. His death is a general loss; but especially so to the town, who well may be supposed to tremble when such a pillar fell. Zach. i, 5.” “ Your fathers, where are they? and the prophets, do they live forever?”

The Rev. John Campbell married Miss Esther Fairchild, of Boston, who died at Oxford in 1777. It appears their bodies were deposited in a tomb, which has been preserved with great care by their descendants.

THEIR CHILDREN.

Mary,	born Feb. 11, 1723, married Jacob Town.
John,	“ “ 7, 1724,
Isabella,	“ Mar. 27, 1726, died March 21, 1728.
Duncan,	“ “ 27, 1727, { married Elizabeth Stearns, of Worces- ter, daughter of Thomas Stearns.
Isabella,	“ July, 26, 1728, married Josiah Wolcott, of Salem,
Elizabeth,	“ Aug. 14, 1730, died July 12, 1732.
Alexander,	“ Feb. 12, 1732, { married Lydia Stearns, of Worcester, daughter of Thomas Stearns.
William,	“ April, 2, 1734,
Archibald	“ Aug. 6, 1736.

In further illustration of the family of the first minister, it is known that his son, Alexander, was the first physician in

Oxford, and died there ; but two of his sons, both physicians, settled in Vermont, and, as understood, one at Putney, and the other at Rockingham.

From Mary Campbell, the eldest daughter, who married Jacob Town, is descended the late General Salem Town and his father, of Charlton. From John Campbell, the eldest son, are the Campbells of Otsego county, New York. From Duncan Campbell are descended Captain Stearns and Colonel Alexander De Witt, of Oxford, and also the late Archibald Campbell and the family of Campbells, of that town. Isabella, who married Josiah Wolcott, of Salem, but who became a resident of Oxford, raised up a numerous family, as will be given hereafter in this chapter. Alexander and Duncan both married daughters of Thomas Stearns, of Worcester, and resided in Oxford. William, who was afterwards captain, removed to Vermont ; his daughter, Sarah, married a son of Dr. Shaw, of Castleton, and was the mother of the Hon. Henry Shaw, of Lanesborough, and she, now, a widow, resides in Poughkeepsie, New York. Archibald Campbell was a clergyman, and, for a time, minister at Charlton ; removed to Vermont. Whether he had children or not, it has not been ascertained.

It is supposed by some of the descendants of the Rev. John Campbell, the first minister of Oxford, that for some reasons never made known by him, that their ancestor came to America to avoid either persecution for his religious opinions, or proscription for some political offense ; and this sentiment was shared likewise by many of his townsmen.

That he was regarded as the friend of Lord Loudon, it is related that his lordship, when Governor of Virginia, in passing from that province to Boston, in discharge of his military duties, and being aware of the place of Mr. Campbell's residence, advised him of his design to make him a visit.

When Mr. Campbell's people were informed of his lord-

ship's intentions, their fears were greatly excited lest there was some purpose inimical to the welfare of their pastor, in connection with the events of his early life, or reasons which brought him to this country; but their minister assured them that the visit was simply the result of early acquaintance and friendship.

It was arranged that for the entertainment of his lordship while at Oxford, he should be the guest of Mr. Wolcott, his son-in-law, who, by his wealth and more aristocratic style of living, could better provide for him.

Mr. Wolcott's house was in close view, across the street from Mr. Campbell's.

Soon after the arrival of Loudon, with a single attendant, at the Wolcott house, Mr. Campbell left his more humble habitation, in full dress, his wig carefully arranged, to welcome his friend. Loudon saw him, and at once advanced to meet him. The little stone bridge, about equidistant from the two houses, was the spot where they met and embraced. They returned to the Wolcott house, and supped and passed the night together, uninterrupted by any other presence.

In the morning they separated; the one to prosecute his civil and military duties, the other the more humble labors of his pastorate. Mr. Campbell's people were now convinced that their pastor was not deceived in his impressions that Lord Loudon owed him no ill-will.* Yet still, whatever of mystery that pertained to Mr. Campbell's exiling himself to this small interior town, then in the wilderness of New England, was not made known. The probabilities are, that the impelling motive was his non-conformity to the English church, and perhaps displacement from a living, and

* Lord Loudon was advanced to the position of a lieutenant-general in January, 1758, and recalled to England, which gave general satisfaction in the colonies. In 1763 he was appointed Governor of Edinburgh Castle, and on the 30th of April, 1770, became colonel of the Third regiment of Scotch Guards, and general in the army. He died, unmarried, at Loudon Castle, Ayreshire, on the 27th of April, 1682, aged eighty-seven.

thus preferred exile rather than change from his strict Puritan faith.

Rev. Joseph Bowman, the second pastor of this church, was ordained at Boston, in 1762, as a missionary. His field of labor was among the Mohawk Indians on the western frontiers. He afterwards went to the Indians on the borders of the Susquehanna river. Hostile commotions among the Indians interrupted his labors. He returned to New England, was discharged from the service of the Board of Commissioners, in Boston, in 1764, and in November of the same year was installed in Oxford.

Mr. Bowman lived in harmony among this people till 1775, when, from the troubled state of the country, the poverty of the town, and a diversity of religious opinions among his people, he was, at his own request, discharged in 1782. Two years afterwards he was installed in Bernard, Vermont, where for many years he enjoyed the confidence and support of his people.

Rev. Elias Dudley, the third pastor of the church, was a native of Saybrook, Connecticut. He graduated at Dartmouth in 1788, and was ordained in Oxford in 1791.

In consequence of feeble health, he was dismissed, at his own request, in 1799.

The same year he removed to Newburyport, where he went into business. While here he took several short voyages in a fishing-vessel to Labrador for the benefit of his health.

In 1805 he removed to Prospect, Maine, where he died of consumption, aged forty-five years.

Mr. Dudley is spoken of in Blake's "Biographical Sketch," as a man of excellent character, and a faithful and efficient preacher of the Gospel.

He was much interested in education and the moral culture of youth, and acted as a private instructor to many of the young who frequented his house. His talents as a teacher

are still spoken of by his surviving pupils with high commendation. He was of a melancholic temperament. He suffered much under an impression that he was unfaithful and deficient in his duties as pastor and teacher of his flock. This impression, induced by the continued feebleness of his health, which at times prevented him from wholly discharging his duties, led him repeatedly to ask dismissal from his charge.

Towards the close of his labors he was able to perform but one service on the Sabbath. Still his people declined his repeated request for a final separation.

They at length consented, on the representation of physicians, to refer the matter to the council that dismissed him. The council express, in their result, much sympathy for him in his affliction, and bear honorable testimony to the excellence of his character as a minister of the Gospel.

JOSIAH WOLCOTT, OF OXFORD.

This Josiah Wolcott, of Oxford, Massachusetts, was a descendant, of the fifth generation, from Henry Wolcott, who, with his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Saunders, and family, came to New England in 1630. First settled at Dorchester, Massachusetts. He came from Tolland, in Somersetshire, in England. After residing a few years at Dorchester, removed with his family, and Rev. John Maverick, and many of the members of his church, of Dorchester, to Connecticut, and founded the town of Windsor. He was a gentleman of education and wealth, and here became a magistrate, and assistant in originating the plan for the government of the colony of Connecticut. He died, May 30, 1655; and his wife died the same year, about a month afterward. They had six children.*

* See New England Historical and Genealogical Register, vol. ix, p. 338; also, Congregational Quarterly, 1859, vol. i, pp. 141-150.

HENRY WOLCOTT,

the eldest surviving son of the preceding, married Sarah, daughter of Thomas Newberg. He resided in Windsor, where he followed the occupation of a merchant, and was intrusted with many public offices.

JOSIAH WOLCOTT,

the youngest son of the preceding, Henry and Sarah Newberg Wolcott, received a classical education, and was a merchant, for a time, at Windsor, but removed to Salem, Massachusetts, and was honored with several public offices, and was judge of the Court of Common Pleas at time of his decease, in 1729.

His second wife was Mary, daughter of John Freke, a merchant in Boston. His lady received from her grandfather, Thomas Freke, of England, a large landed estate ; in the deed recorded at Boston, 2,000 acres are described as being at a place called "Qunecuslitt" (Thompson) in the Nipmuck country ; also another parcel of land in the township of New Oxford, in the Nipmuck country, and both in the county of Suffolk.

JOHN WOLCOTT,

the youngest and only surviving son of the preceding, Josiah and Mary Freke Wolcott, graduated at Harvard college in the year 1721, and represented Salem in the General Court. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Captain Peter Papillion, of Boston, and afterwards occupied the position of high sheriff of Essex county. He died in the year 1747. He was the owner of a wharf and other real estate in Boston.

JOSIAH WOLCOTT,

the second and only surviving son of the preceding, John and Elizabeth Papillion Wolcott, married Isabella, daughter of Rev. John Campbell, first minister of Oxford. She was born, July 26, 1728, and died June 27, 1786. He settled at Oxford, on the estate bequeathed to him by his grandmother, and in right of his mother in the Papillion estate, and a very large estate in land in this town. He was born, April 16, 1733, and died, December 9, 1796. By this marriage he had eleven children.

Two years before his death he married, for his second wife, widow Naomi Jennison, of Douglas, relict of Samuel Jennison; she was a native of St. Thomas, of the West Indies, and survived her husband many years, and deceased, in 1848, at a great age.

The following is a copy of a paper in his handwriting :

“Josiah Wolcott, with his children, desires to give thanks to God, in this church and congregation, for God’s great goodness to him, although he has been shaking him over ye gates of ye grave by sore sickness. But blessed be God that He has granted him a reprieve, and has raised him to such a measure of health that he is able to wait upon God, with his people, in this house of prayer, and again to worship Him in the beauty of holiness.”

Among the items of the inventory of his personal estate were several valuable paintings and pieces of marble work, and two large oil-painted likenesses, nicely framed in gilt, said to have been likenesses of a gentleman and lady and child, and were brought from England; probably portraits of some of the Freke family.

His papers and these works of art are not in the possession of descendants of this family; the former, probably, destroyed; and where the latter are, if in existence, is not known.

LAWYERS.

OXFORD.

Samuel Jennison, graduate of Harvard university,	1774.
Erasmus Babbitt, “ “ “	1775.
Ira Moore Barton, “ “ “	1819.
Sumner Bastow, “ Brown “	1802.
Peter C. Bacon, “ “ “	1827.
Charles G. Prentice, afterwards register of probate.	
Charles Bowman.	

SUMNER BASTOW.

Mr. Bastow was a native of Uxbridge. He was a graduate of Brown university in 1802. For some time after he left college he was engaged in mercantile business, but he afterwards read law with Estees Howe, Esq., of Sutton, and was admitted to the bar at Worcester, in March, 1811. He opened a law office in West Sutton, where he continued, having a profitable business, till 1823, when he received the appointment of cashier of the Oxford bank, and removed there, and entered upon the discharge of the duties of that office, which he performed with great exactness and fidelity the remainder of his life.

His law profession was, during this latter period, in a great measure abandoned. In 1824 he was a candidate for representative to Congress, as a competitor against Jonas Sibley and John Davis, when the latter candidate succeeded to the office.

He died at Oxford, December 29, 1845, at the age of sixty-seven.

SAMUEL JENNISON.

He was the son of Dr. Jennison, of Brookfield. Graduated at Harvard university, in 1774. Little is known of him as a lawyer at this time. He was the father of Mr. Samuel Jennison, for a long time cashier of the Worcester Bank.

ERASMUS BABBITT.

He seems to have been somewhat unstable in his place of habitation. It appears, at times he resided and practiced his profession in different places ; at Oxford, Westborough, Grafton, Charlton, and the Poll Parish, now Southbridge. Graduated at Harvard university in 1790. He was the son of the celebrated Dr. Thomas Babbitt, of Brookfield, and brother of Dr. Thomas Babbitt, of Sturbridge. He was a captain in the army, under Colonel Nathan Rice, stationed at Oxford in the fall and winter of 1798-'99 (Colonel Rice being a native of Sturbridge, and son of Rev. Caleb Rice). He possessed a remarkable memory, but convivial and social habits in too great a degree to accomplish much as a business man.

As a singer of popular songs, he was remarkable. It has been said of him that he could begin at sunrise and continue to sing different songs, without intermission, till sundown. Whether such be the fact, it would be difficult to prove ; but there is no doubt of the fact that, as a singer of songs, his memory and vocal powers were very great.

He was the grandfather of the celebrated Charlotte Cushman, her mother's maiden name being Mary Eliza Babbitt. It is reported that he died in service during the British war with the United States, 1812 to 1815.

HON. IRA MOORE BARTON.

Judge Barton, in writing of himself to Joseph Willard, Esq., giving an account of the lawyers who had practiced in the town of Oxford, where he then resided (the object being to enable Mr. Willard to prepare the address he delivered before the bar of Worcester county, October 2, 1829), states:

“ As for myself, I was born in Oxford, Massachusetts, October 25, A. D., 1796 ; was graduated at Brown university in 1819 ; studied law with



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General Bridgham in Providence, Governor Lincoln in Worcester, Sumner Bastow, Esq., in Sutton, and was something more than eighteen months at the Law school connected with Harvard university, where I received the degree of Bachelor of Laws in 1822. I was admitted as an attorney at the Common Pleas, at the September term, 1822; have passed through the several grades of professional dignity up to that of counsellor of the Supreme Court; and am now, what I have been for years past, a practitioner of law in the town of Oxford.

“Date, September 10, 1829.”

He represented the town in the State Legislature for the years 1830, 1831, and 1832; a State senator in 1833 and 1834, and, in this latter year, was appointed one of the commissioners for revising the statutes. The same year he removed to Worcester. In 1836 was appointed by Governor Everett to succeed Hon. Nathaniel Paine, as judge of probate, and held that office eight years, when he resigned, and resumed the practice of law. He was chosen a presidential elector in 1840. He became a member of the Antiquarian society in 1841. In 1849 he retired from a general attendance upon the courts, but continued to give counsel, “in chambers,” at his own house, till 1861. He died on the 18th of July, 1867.

“In every station he was placed, in public or private, he was distinguished for ability, sterling integrity, and earnest devotion to the fullest performance of every duty.”

“He was always a careful and judicious adviser, and was equally able and successful as an advocate, possessing, in a high degree, practical wisdom and sagacity. He was a politician only in the sense of a desire to participate in public affairs to be useful. Hence he inspired confidence in his integrity and sincerity of purpose, whatever might be the political policy which he supported. He was always an earnest supporter of measures for general education and the improvement of morals. In the Legislature he was an able debater and an efficient worker on committees.”

Besides his duties in his profession, and in political matters, he found much time to gratify his taste for literature, and genealogical and antiquarian researches. His large knowledge of subjects generally, and his ability as a writer, called his talents often into requisition for the delivery of orations and public addresses; while he was often a contributor to newspapers and periodicals, elucidating various subjects and questions with singular ability.

In 1846 he visited Europe; and was a member of the New York and Wisconsin Historical societies.

HON. ALEXANDER DE WITT.

Alexander De Witt was born in New Braintree, Worcester county, Massachusetts, April 2, 1798, being one of a family of nine children. His parents were in low circumstances, not able to afford him the ordinary advantages of a common school education. The first fourteen years of his life were spent with his parents, his time being engaged in service upon farms and sundry jobs for the benefit of the family. But while he had not the advantages of schools for education, he never lost an opportunity for improvement, mentally or socially. He always sought the company of his superiors in point of education and general intelligence, and always with the end in view to his advancement to the position of a gentleman and equal of the best, in whatever society chance might place him. Possessing ample powers of discrimination, he has been able to reduce to his advantage whatever the time and circumstances could command, wherever he was placed. This is the key to his success. He is emphatically what is usually termed "a self-made man"—an honorable example to all youth, showing what perseverance and a determination to rise in the sphere of manhood may accomplish by personal effort, and without any of the advantages of family or exterior resources. Self-reliance has been his motto; and from this

resource he has arisen to whatever position he has sustained, in either public or private life. At the age of fifteen he engaged his services with the Merino Manufacturing Company in Dudley, then carrying on the manufacture of wool, in connection with the usual business of a country variety store. He remained in this employ four years; being active and apt in adapting his services to whatever branch of their business he had in charge, he was available for any contingency, and was frequently sent abroad (although but a youth, but manly in appearance and deportment), for the sale of their manufactures, and sometimes extended his travels through the Southern States.

This service was a valuable school for general knowledge, that enabled him to profit by it in after years.

In the year 1818 he went to Franklin, Massachusetts, and there was engaged in a manufactory of cotton, as an accountant; and the following year formed a connection with Dr. Nathaniel Miller, of that town, for one year, for the purpose of making cotton thread. They had two frames of sixty-four spindles each. The following year he leased a larger mill at Foxborough, for the manufacture of the same goods, and at the same time opened a country store. When his goods were ready for market, he took them in a wagon, with the necessary provisions for boarding himself and horse, and started upon a peddling expedition; and, although at first his pride was somewhat too much above his business to make it profitable, yet he soon yielded to its necessity, finding—what many a young man has failed to yield to, and thus not been able to succeed in his pursuits—the importance of placing himself on a level with his business. With this point established, no opportunity passed by without claiming his prompt attention and best efforts for disposing of his goods, whether for cash or exchange for other products, and in this manner he accomplished success. His goods were brought to the notice

of the public, and soon a demand was created that was amply sufficient to dispose of all the goods his mill could produce, at a satisfactory profit.

On the 5th of June, 1820, he married Mary, the daughter of William Makepeace, Esq., of Franklin, who is still living, and to whose sound judgment and faithfulness in the discharge of all duties relating to their domestic affairs he attributes much of his success in life.

His father-in-law erected a factory, and united with him, and continued the manufacture of thread successfully till 1823. Mr. De Witt removed to Oxford, and, in connection with his three brothers, built the thread-mill that has been described in another place in this work, which business these brothers carried on successfully nearly twenty years.

Colonel Alexander De Witt was largely identified with both the woolen and the cotton business at Oxford and other places many years, and in the several crises that the manufacture of wool and cotton has passed through, that proved disastrous to many engaged in this pursuit, his management has been such, that, under all circumstances, he has not failed to meet every obligation with promptness and entire fidelity to his contracts.

In 1830 he was elected by the town of Oxford as a Democratic representative to the General Court, and was continued in that office six years; but in the years 1833 and 1834 he opposed the measures of the General Government in the removal of the deposits from the United States Bank, in that it was a violation of contract—an agreement having been made to continue the deposits in that institution a stated period, and which period had not expired. This severed his connection with the Democratic party.

In 1837 he removed to Boston, and engaged in the domestic cotton and woolen goods business on commission, where he remained three years, and then returned to Oxford, and

soon again engaged in the cotton manufacture, which, at this time, was a profitable business. In 1842, 1844, 1850, and 1851, was elected a senator to the Massachusetts Legislature. In 1853 and 1856 was a member of conventions held for amending the constitution of the State. He represented Worcester, South District, in Congress, in the years 1856 and 1857.

For many years he has been engaged in railroad improvements, banks, insurance companies, and other corporations, either as president or director; twenty-six years director in the Merchants' and Farmers' Insurance Company; twenty-seven years in the State Mutual Life Insurance Company; twenty years connected with the Mechanics' Savings-Bank, as president and trustee; twenty-one years connected with the Mechanics' Bank, Worcester, nine years as president and twelve years as director; twenty-one years connected with the Oxford Bank, five years as its president; twenty-five years connected with the Worcester and Nashua Railroad, three years as president; seventeen years director of the Providence and Worcester Railroad; twenty-five years director in the Norwich and Worcester Railroad.

His time has, for many years, been largely engaged in public business, and managing corporate property. In whatever station of life he has been called upon to act, he has discharged his duties and trusts with strict integrity and fidelity.

Personally he may be described as large, and of commanding appearance, florid complexion, possessing a cheerful, open countenance, naturally social, and at times inclined to be frolicsome; is frank and open in giving expression to his sentiments; generously and benevolently disposed, often contributing his means to moral and religious objects, and extending aid to those less fortunate than himself.

LEARNED FAMILY.

The names Ebenezer and Isaac Learned are found with the original English settlers who founded the town of Oxford in 1713. They were the ancestors of all of that name in the south district of Worcester county.

This Ebenezer died in 1780. He was colonel of the militia; came from Framingham; his children were Ebenezer, afterward General Learned, in the Revolutionary war; Jeremiah, a captain of militia, and four daughters; Abigail, who married Edward Davis, Esq., of Oxford; Dolly, who married Captain Elijah Moore, of Oxford; Ruth, who married Captain Samuel Davis, of Oxford; Comfort, who married Mr. Moore, of Worcester. General Ebenezer Learned married a Miss Baker, owned what is known as the Silas Turner place, and removed to the present Abisha Learned place. Was a colonel in the French war, and a brigadier in the war of the Revolution, and was at the capture of General Burgoyne. They had five sons and two daughters; Ebenezer, who died young; Haynes, who married a daughter of Edward Davis; he was a mill-wright, and moved to Georgia; Sylvanus became colonel, and married another daughter of Edward Davis (Patty); she died, and he married the widow of his brother Rufus; one of the best business men in the town; he served during seven years as a soldier in the war of the Revolution, and engaged in the "Shays Rebellion," to put it down, as adjutant. He was afterwards colonel in the militia.

David Learned married Miss Hurd, daughter of Deacon Hurd, sister of the present Deacon Hurd, of this town; moved to Maine; was justice of the peace and sheriff of the county of Oxford; he and his father were heavy landholders there, and gave the name Oxford to that county. Rufus, the youngest son, married Polly Humphrey. Dolly,

the eldest daughter, married a Mr. Hill, and lived in the south part of Oxford. Deborah married a Robinson; he was in the war of the Revolution, and died, leaving one child; his widow then married Ebenezer Bray.

Captain Jeremiah Learned married Elizabeth Hunt, of Littleton, for his first wife; widow Mary Green, of Thompson, for his second; Dolly Barton (daughter of Dr. Stephen Barton) for his third wife; and a fourth wife, the widow of Dr. Weaver. He served in the French war as ensign, lieutenant, and captain; was at Ticonderoga and Lake George. In the Revolution he was regarded as a Tory. He was a true Whig after the war, much respected, and represented the town twelve years in the Legislature. He died, June, 1812, aged seventy-nine.

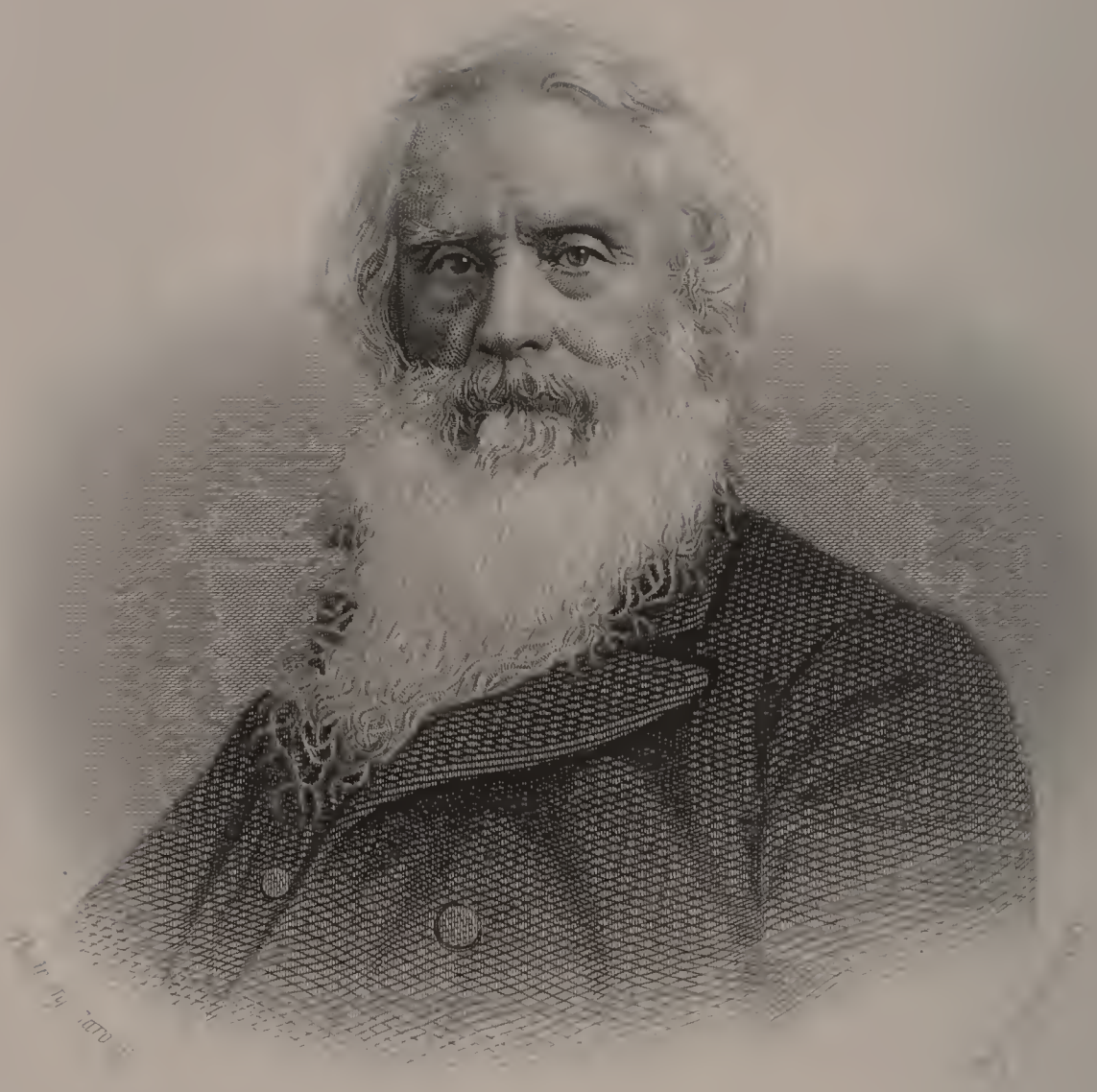
By his first wife, Elizabeth Hunt, he had six children: Jeremiah, a physician, died young; Benjamin married Lydia Pitts, settled in Oxford, and died at the age of fifty-two; Jonathan married a Miss Campbell; died, aged forty-two; Betsy married Dr. Drewry, of Spencer; Patty died young; Polly married Captain Joseph Atwood, removed to Taunton, and died there, leaving two children. He had no children by widow Green. By his third wife, Miss Barton, he had four children. Jeremiah married Susan Stockwell, died at thirty-five years, and had four children. Ebenezer, son of Jeremiah, married Naomi Shumway, granddaughter of Josiah Wolcott; died at thirty-two years, leaving no children; Stephen, the third son, died at the age of twenty-three, much lamented; Polly, the fourth child of Mrs. Barton Learned, married Joseph Stone, and had three children; she died at the early age of twenty-one years.

The foregoing is by Captain Stephen Barton. Many dates are wanting.

The most noted families of Oxford have been: Learned, Davis, Moore, Barton, Campbell, Wolcott, and Town. More

recently, Olney, De Witt, Hodges, Underwood, Harwood, and others.

The Shumways, Sigourneys, and Ammidowns were of Huguenot descent—the two first of the French plantation; the latter came with the English colony, and was of an earlier class of French exiles, of the number of French Protestants that fled from France during the siege of Rochelle by Cardinal Richelieu in 1628, and came to New England with Captain John Endicot, to begin the colony of Massachusetts Bay.



Sam. F. B. Morse.

WOODSTOCK.

SECTION III.

CHAPTER I.

THIS ancient town was located in what was known at that time as the “Nipmuck Country.” The native occupants were nearly all destroyed by the King Philip war, and had mostly disappeared from their former homes, clustering in small cabin villages through the interior of Massachusetts. This grant, when made, was supposed to be within the limits of that colony. These village homes were also destroyed, and nearly all that remained of them or their former occupants was that which was incorporated with the dust of the soil which they once tilled, or roamed over as their hunting-field. They now are only known by history.

“ Ask ye for hamlets, peopled bound,
With cone-roof'd cabins circled round ?
For chieftains proud—for hoary sire,
Or warrior, terrible in ire?”

“ Ye've seen the shadows quit the vale—
The foam upon the water fail—
The fleeting vapor leave no trace,
Such was their path, that faded race !”

The first meeting of the people of Roxbury (as their records show) to consult upon the subject of a grant of land for a town in this country, was on the 6th of October, 1683. Their object,

as stated, was to increase the pasturage for their cattle, and to improve their condition and usefulness to the colony.

These reasons are quite similar to one of those given by the first planters, who went out from Massachusetts in 1635 to found the colony of Connecticut, as related in another place: "the want of accommodation for their cattle, so as they were not able to maintain their ministers, nor could receive any more of their friends to help them."

And it is presumed that the fathers of Woodstock, the parishioners of the Apostle Eliot, knew by him very well, the desirableness of these interior lands, which their venerable minister had but recently often traveled over on his pious mission to the natives then residing here, to hold forth to them the blessings of the Gospel, and were actuated by reasons similar to the second one given by the founders of Connecticut—"the fruitfulness and commodiousness of the country." It is not, however, the design here to make invidious criticisms upon the character of these hardy, industrious, and frugal pioneers—the founders of Woodstock, nor to screen their faults, but rather to state facts, let their bearing be what they may.

Their second meeting was on the 10th following, and the third on the 17th instant, when the form of a petition was agreed upon, offered for signatures, and signed by the following names :

John Chandler,	James Corbin,	Edward Morris,
William Lyon,	John Chandler, Jr.,	Samuel Craft,
Jonathan Davis,	Nathaniel Wilson,	Samuel Peacock,
John Frissell,	Benjamin Sabin,	Thomas Lyon,
Joseph Frissell,	John Mayo,	James Barrett,
Thomas Bacon,	Benjamin Griggs,	Henry Bowen,
John Marcy,	George Griggs,	John Levens,
Nathan Sawyer,	Peter Aspinwall,	Samuel Scarborough.
Ebenezer Morris,	Jonathan Peak,	John Hubbard,
Nathan Gary,	Jonathan Smithers,	John Bowen,
John Bugbee,	John Ruggles,	Nathaniel Johnson,
Arthur Humphrey,	Samuel May,	John Butcher.

This petition was presented to the General Court by the selectmen of Roxbury, and received action upon it by that body, as follows :

“ At a General Court held at Boston, November 7, 1683, in answer to the petition of William Parker, John Bowles, Joseph Griggs, John Ruggles, and Edward Morris, selectmen of Roxbury, and in their behalf, dated, ‘ October 10 and 17, 1683, ’ for a tract of land for a village, to be laid out about Quantisset, to the quantity of seven miles square; the court grants their request, provided that the grant to Major Thompson, Mr. Stoughton, Mr. Dudley and Company have the first choice before the tenth of June next, and provided thirty families be settled on said plantation within three years of that time, and maintain amongst them an able, orthodox, godly minister.

“ Attest,

“ EDWARD RAWSON, *Secretary.* ”

This grant to the selectmen of Roxbury for the town of Woodstock, which for several years was known as New Roxbury, was a part of the tract of land conveyed by deed by these Indians, dated, “ February 10, 1681, ” to William Stoughton and Joseph Dudley, as agents of Massachusetts, referred to in the history of Oxford. It included in its limits mostly three of the Indian villages which Captain Daniel Gookin gives an account of, in relating the incidents of the journey he made with Rev. John Eliot to this country :

“ This year again, on the 14th of September, 1674, we both took another journey. Our design was to travel further among them, and to confirm their souls in the Christian religion, and to settle teachers in every town, and to establish civil government among them, as in the other praying towns. ”

The first of these three towns within this grant was Maanexit, located in the north-east part of the same, and a part of Thompson, on the borders of Mohegan river (the Quinebaug). The second was Quantisset, referred to in the order of court for this grant, about six miles to the south of the first village, and in the south-east part of the grant,

and extending into the territory now Thompson. The third was Wabquassit, or, as called in the records of the early proceedings of Woodstock, "Wappaquasset," located in the south part of this grant.

Mr. Gookin adds :

"Upon the 16th day of September, being at Wabquassit, as soon as the people had come together, Mr. Eliot first prayed, and then preached to them in their own language out of Matthew, v, 33, '*First seek the kingdom of heaven, and the righteousness thereof, and all things shall be added unto you.*' After these services, as was customary, Mr. Gookin, then the Indian agent of the colony, held court upon civil affairs, appointing officers to attend to the well ordering of matters among them, giving these officers special charge to be diligent and faithful in their places."*

These Indian villages were, no doubt, a part of those which John Oldham and his three companions visited in September, 1633 (forty-one years before the visit by Gookin and Eliot), at the time of his excursion to discover the country of the river of Connecticut, as related by Governor Winthrop in his journal.†

On the 21st of January, 1684, the town of Roxbury authorized the selectmen to send a committee to view the country where it was intended to locate the grant made to them for a town, and report the best place.

This committee consisted of four persons : Samuel Ruggles, John Ruggles, John Courtis, and Isaac Morris ; but their report does not appear of record. The selectmen, however, give the result of the discoveries which they made :

"They did find, according to their best understanding, that Wabquassit and the lands adjacent might afford encouragement for a settlement of a township according to the court's grant."

Upon which report, October 27, 1684, the town of Roxbury declared by a vote,

* See Collections Mass. Hist. Soc., vol. 1, 1st series, pp. 190-192.

† See Winthrop, by Savage, vol. 1, p. 111.

“That they did expect of the information from the men sent to view the said tract of land, that liberty was granted, that if any persons had a desire to go to said land, they may do so only upon their own charges, and for such going the town will be at the expense of a pilot.”

At the same meeting a committee was appointed consisting of Master Dudley (Joseph), Master Bowles, Deacon Parks, Lieutenant Ruggles, and Edward Morris,

“To draft propositions that may be most equal and prudent for the settlement of the place; and to present them to the town upon the 18th of November next ensuing, which was the same day appointed (so recorded) to be a town meeting after lecture.”

And furthermore, on the same day it was declared by the town,

“That if any of the inhabitants do see good to withdraw from any interest in the grant of land, that they have liberty so to do without offence, provided it be done within three months; and then to be free of any further charges concerning the same, provided they have paid their proportion of the foregoing charges that were necessary before they so withdrew.”

At the aforesaid appointed town meeting, the 13th of July, 1685, the committee selected to draft propositions for settling the grant, made report as follows :

“It is agreed and ordered that if there shall appear to the selectmen thirty persons or upwards who shall give in their names, to plant and settle on said lands, so as to fulfill the conditions of the grant of the General Court, referring to the same, they shall have to themselves and their heirs, the full half of the whole tract in one square, at their own choice, to be proportionably divided among them.”

“And further, the town do engage to assist the *goers* and *planters* with £100, money, to be paid in equal portions in five years, to be laid out in public buildings and charges, as the old town of Roxbury (the grant at this time being known as New Roxbury) shall annually determine. The rest of the inhabitants of the town shall have the remaining half to be equally and proportionably divided to them, to be to them and their heirs forever.”

Adjourned eight weeks.

At the adjourned meeting the aforesaid agreement in every

article and particular having been read, it was unanimously consented to, the contrary being put, not one appeared therein.

“ September 8th, 1685.

Voted: “ That, as an additional inducement to the £100, allowed the settlers as aforesaid, that the estates which the goers leave behind them in Roxbury shall be free from the rates for raising this sum, to the number of thirty-five persons.”

Also, same day agreed,

“ That the £100 be expended on that half of the grant which the goers shall select and sit down upon.”

Also,

“ That the £100 be raised, and paid £20 per year to such persons as the goers shall depute, and to be expended in public works on that half of the grant, viz., for meeting-house, minister’s house, mill, bridges,” &c.

It was further agreed,

“ That notwithstanding the town of Roxbury (that is to say—the stayers) have engaged £100, money, to those that shall go and take one half of the grant in a square, yet that if any persons or person, by themselves or others, shall go and sit down on the other half, they shall be liable to bear all public charges with them that go first (in all respects, except the propriety of land), from the time of their improvement on the other half, until such time as the stayers, or old town, shall see good, and desire to be by themselves as a township, and the charges thereof at which time they shall in all respects be clear of payment of any charges in common with the first goers; and that this meeting be adjourned to this day fortnight.”

At the adjourned meeting, September 22, 1685,

“ It was unanimously declared by the people of Roxbury, for the encouragement of such as were willing to go up to the Nipmug country in the spring in order to a settlement, they shall have liberty to break up land and plant where they please for the present year without being bound thereby to accept of what land they plant or otherwise improve, as their share or part of the half of the court’s grant to this town; and that they shall have liberty at any time between this day and 29th of September next, 1686, to make and declare their choice of the one half of the said court’s grant, according to articles agreed to in public town meeting, July 13, 1685. And for the encouragement of the first planters at Wabquassit, at this meeting it was agreed that they should have a

surveyor to assist them in finding the colony line, or otherwise for further promotion of their design, upon the charge of the whole town."

The records of the new Roxbury settlers, afterward Woodstock, show the following :

"APRIL 5, 1686.

"These are the thirteen who were sent out to spy out Woodstock as planters, and to take actual possession: Jonathan Smithers, John Frisell, Nathaniel Gary, John Marcy, Benjamin Griggs, John Lord, Benjamin Sabin, Henry Bowen, Matthew Davis, Thomas Bacon, Peter Aspinwall, George Griggs, and Edward Morris."

This was the beginning of the actual settlement of Woodstock.

This is the year that the grantees of Oxford began the first settlement of that town, which, unfortunately, after about ten years, was abandoned for a period of seventeen years before a permanent settlement was commenced. Thus the permanent settlement of Woodstock was twenty-seven years in advance of Oxford.

Notwithstanding settlers had gone forward in April to take possession and begin the settlement of the new town, those who remained at Roxbury continued their efforts in behalf of the undertaking.

Their records show that on the 14th of May, 1686, at a town meeting, a committee of the following men were appointed to aid the enterprise :

"Samuel Williams, Senior, Sergeant Timothy Stevens, and John Courtis, whose duty it is to go to the Nipmug country and view the land by the General Court granted for our enlargement of the township and inhabitants of Roxbury, in order to the laying out of the same; who are also empowered to settle the southern bounds of the grant upon or near the colony line; and also to determine the length and breadth of the court's grant as they judge most convenient for the town in general; that the first goers or settlers may make choice of their half thereof, according to a grant to them by a vote of the inhabitants of Roxbury, July 13, 1685."

The committee chosen on the 14th of May, 1686, reported

to the town of Roxbury at a meeting held on the 12th day of June, following :

“ We, whose names are here underwritten, being chosen a committee to go to the Nipmug country to view the land and pitch the southern bounds of the grant to the town of Roxbury, did, upon the 25th of May last, go to the place where several of the inhabitants of Roxbury have set up a house and planted several acres of corn, and from that house a mile and a half southward we first marked a white-oak-tree, from which we marked several others, white-oaks and black-oaks, walnuts, chestnuts, and other trees, both eastward and westward in the same line, for the space of three miles and a half or thereabouts. And in case the first goers do chose that side of the township next to the colony line where we have already marked, and do run eight miles from the east end of the line that we have marked westward, and three miles in breadth from this south line, then we lay the whole of the court's grant to Roxbury, eight miles long from east to west and six and a quarter miles (or so much as will make up the complement of the said grant) from south to north.”

“ But if the first goers should decide contrawise, viz., by a north and south line, then we order that the south line which we have begun shall run further eastward home to Quinebaug river, and be six miles and so much more as will make up the complement from east to west, and eight miles from south to north, as witness our hands.

SAMUEL WILLIAMS,
TIMOTHY STEVENS,
JOHN COURTIS.”

This report, having been read at a meeting of the inhabitants of the town of Roxbury, was accepted.

At the same meeting,

“ Liberty was granted to the settlers in the new town to propound persons of other places to fill up the number required by the court in their grant for the new town, whose estates or other qualifications shall be referred unto the selectmen of this town for approval, and who may accordingly be admitted with the goers to settle there, and have like privileges with the other goers.”

At a town meeting in Roxbury, June 15, 1686, it was decided,

“ That the time be limited to the 29th of September next for the set-

tlers to decide which half of the grant they will take, being governed by the limits established by the locating committee, as before stated in their report."

And it was decided,

"That the time for entering names to be an inhabitant in that half of the grant to be appropriated for settlers, or goers, shall be limited to the 1st of May, 1687, and their number not to exceed fifty; and all but ten to be inhabitants of Roxbury, and such as are from other towns to be approved by the selectmen of that town."

It was further agreed,

"That the goers at present settled on the grant have liberty to take up their home lots forthwith; other settlers, as fast as they come there; and that Licutenant Samuel Ruggles, Sergeant Timothy Stevens, and Samuel Williams, senior, shall be a committee for the New Town till the last of next May, to decide any differences that may arise among them."

On the 27th of September, 1686, the settlers at New Roxbury decided,

"That the division line shall run east and west, and that they would take the south half of the court's grant."

On the same day, September 27, 1686, the town of Roxbury decided

"That the rule of division of the other, or north half of the court's grant, which now belonged to that town, shall be apportioned according to each man's assessment per head and estate, in the country rates, by the last year's roll; by which also stayer's share of charges for the payment of the £100 shall be paid. The castle soldiers and troopers are to be added, and all such as are now sixteen years of age, all goers excepted; and that the selectmen in each and every year for the time being, are hereby empowered to proportion each man's share of said £100, and the constable, in the several years, to collect and gather the same as he doth the other town rates.

"The list of castle men, troopers, and others, not in the last year's roll, are to be brought in to the selectmen within six weeks after the date hereof."

It was further agreed by the town of Roxbury, on the 5th of October, 1686,

“That each of the inhabitants and proprietors of the town, except such as have rights given them in the first half of the new town in the Nipmug country, do, within one week next coming, bring in to the selectmen a perfect list of all their own proper estates, heads, houses, lands, and cattle, which shall be equally appraised and summed up at the rate formerly in usage for country rates; and that the selectmen may levy this year £20 thereupon, towards the payment of the £100 granted to the new town, and the remainder, afterwards according to the same list, which list shall be duly and fairly entered in the records of the town, and be the rule of division of lands in the half of the new town reserved for those of this town who stay, to be to them and their heirs forever; and that this be instead of the vote taken, September 27th, 1686, that being hereby taken away.”

It was voted, March 5, 1687, by Roxbury,

“That if any person or persons see meet to relinquish his or their right in the lands of New Roxbury, he or they shall be quit of any payment to that or any other future charges, he giving the same under his hand to the said constable within seven days next coming; other persons of the proprietors now present having offered to take such refused rights and pay the past rates and further charges that may be agreed upon, being necessary for the security of the title of the place. And further, they do now agree that the committee of both towns do pursue the obtaining a patent for the same, and do hereby empower the selectmen to raise upon the estates of both towns what money may be necessary for the defraying the charges for the patent not exceeding £30 money; and that the quit rent be paid for the future by all the proprietors, according to their several interests there.

And, further, it is agreed,

“That the inhabitants of the new town make their election, either to have half the charges for the payment for the patent deducted out of the last payment of the £100 promised them, or pay one third part thereof, in common with their neighbors, within one month.”

Furthermore, it is agreed, that,

“Whoever desires to enter as a goer to take up in that half of the town granted to the first goers, shall be twenty-one years of age by the tenth of June, 1688.”

On the 13th of December, 1686, the selectmen of Roxbury

met, and made the first assessment upon the polls and estates of that town as a part of the £100, promised the first settlers of Woodstock.

It is stated in their town records as £21 0s. 5d, granted to the goers into the Nipmug country, and was committed to the hands of Samuel Craft for collection.

There is an entry in Roxbury town records of expenses paid parties for services rendered at the plantation in the Nipmug country.

“ Paid John Gore for journey to the Nipmug country, eleven days services at the request of the goers, according to a town vote, £3 0s. 0d.”

This Mr. Gore was a surveyor, and was employed by the committee appointed on the 14th of May last, as before stated, for locating the new town.

This committee of location were paid as follows:

	£	s.	d.
To Samuel Williams, - - - - -	1	3	0
“ Ensign Timothy Stevens, - - - - -	1	3	0
“ John Courtis, - - - - -	1	3	0
“ Indian Pilot, - - - - -	0	6	0

The sums here paid are a valuable index for judging of the value of time and labor at this period ; or of money in procuring such service.

There is also recorded the names and sums paid to the town’s committee, who went up to the Nipmug country first, to view and to report the best place for a town.*

	£	s.	d.
To Samuel Ruggles, - - - - -	1	19	7
“ John Ruggles, - - - - -	1	10	0
“ John Courtis, - - - - -	1	7	0
“ John Mower, - - - - -	-	-	-

On the 12th of July, 1687,

“ It being lecture day (so recorded), the inhabitants of Roxbury being

* See vote of Roxbury, January 21, 1684, before related.

desired to stay, there was then read a summons by his Excellency, the governor, signed by William West, dated 'July 11,' wherein was signified that he expected that some of Roxbury would appear before his Excellency forthwith, to make answer to such complaints as were made against them by the Indians, in reference to Nipmug lands, etc. The meeting voted that Lieutenant Samuel Ruggles and John Gore be a committee to attend to his Excellency's request."

At the same time,

"The foregoing were appointed a committee to petition his Excellency and the Honorable Council for a patent or confirmation of the new town in the Nipmug country. The charges to be equally borne by the polls and estates of both towns."

There does not appear upon the records of the town of Roxbury any transaction relating to the new town in the Nipmug country in the year 1688. But on the 13th of January, 1689-'90, a request was made to the General Court to grant the settlement in the Nipmug country to be a township, and to confirm the same, and to give the town a name. This desire for a name for the new town, came probably from the settlers; as on the 1st of January, 1689, the planters chose a committee of three to petition the General Court for a substitute for New Roxbury, for a name for the town. This committee were Edward Morris, William Bartholomew, and Nathaniel Johnson. The committee, no doubt, applied to the town of Roxbury, which brought out the request to the General Court, from the committee of that town appointed on January 3, as above.

The General Court of Massachusetts, it appears, considered the request of the petitioners for a name for the new town, March 18, 1690, when it was voted by the deputies that New Roxbury be called "Woodstock."

At the same time Captain Thomas Thurston and Lieutenant Samuel Barber, of Medfield, and Josiah Chapin, of Mendon, were appointed a committee to advise and assist in the ordering and settling the town affairs.

It is related that a memorandum was found in the diary of Judge Samuel Sewall, of Boston, to wit:

“I gave New Roxbury the name of Woodstock, because of its nearness to Oxford, for the sake of Queen Elizabeth and the notable meetings that have been held at that place bearing the name in England.”*

* See *Annals of America*, by Dr. Abial Holmes, a descendant of John Holmes, one of the founders of Woodstock, vol. i, p. 420.

The towns of Oxford and Woodstock, granted by Massachusetts in this interior, called the Nipnet, Nipmuck, and in the records of Roxbury, Nipmug country, were names given in honor of the notable towns of those names in Oxfordshire, in England. Oxford is about fifty-five miles from London; its chief celebrity is derived from the university located there, and the Bodleian library. The university dates back in history nearly 1,000 years. The library was founded in 1598, near the close of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, by Thomas Bodley. It has about 300,000 volumes of printed books, and is regarded as one of the best selected libraries for rare and scientific works in Europe. Woodstock is about eight miles from Oxford. The old part of this town is noted as having been the royal residence of the Saxon and Norman kings. King Alfred translated here the “*Consolation of Philosophy*,” by Boetius. Here, also, much to the displeasure of his French wife (Eleanor, Duchess of Aquitaine), Henry II, founder of the Plantagenet dynasty, kept his mistress, the fair Rosamond, daughter of Lord Clifford, about the year A. D., 1173.

It is reported that a conspiracy was formed by his queen and sons for removing this object of his attachment. The fair Rosamond was, as reported, concealed in a labyrinth at this place; her lodgment the queen discovered by a silken thread, when she soon had this mistress brought into her presence, and compelled her to drink poison, by which she lost her life.

There is a poetic dialogue, by Algernon Charles Swinburne, called “*Rosamond, the Maze of Woodstock*,” between the characters, “*Rosamond and Constance*,” “*Queen Eleanor*,” “*Robert De Barchard*,” “*King Henry*,” etc., in four parts, which refers to these affairs of gallantry, and the queen’s indignation and destruction of her rival in the affections of the king.

Tennyson also gives two stanzas in “*The Dream of Fair Women*,” which portrays poor Rosamond’s distress on knowing of the enmity of Queen Eleanor:

“Alas! alas! a low voice full of care,
Murmured beside me; turn and look on me;
I am that Rosamond whom men call fair,
If what I was, I be.

Would I had been some maiden coarse and poor!
O me! that I should ever see the light!
Those dragon eyes of anger’d Eleanor
Do haunt me day and night.”

During the reign of Mary, Queen of England, her step-sister (afterward Queen Elizabeth), was accused of plotting for the throne, and was arrested and confined in the Tower, March 17, 1554.

Queen Mary at this time was engaged to Philip II, King of Spain, and was married on July 25, 1554.

The ambassador of Charles V, acting in behalf of Philip, desired to remove this rival for the throne, and urged Elizabeth’s execution; but the queen would not listen to such harsh measures, and ordered Elizabeth to be sent to Woodstock, where she remained until it was reported she had professed the Catholic faith, which gained the favor of her sister, who was then the wife of Philip, and was soon admitted at court, and to visit her friends in London. She continued to make Woodstock her residence, through fear of the queen, who, made

The town of Roxbury, in further consideration of the matter in respect to Woodstock, decided, on the 7th of March, 1691-'92,

“That the inhabitants who hold lands in the north half of that town, will make up the payment of the forty pounds, the two first payments of £20 each, by the 1st day of May next; and the other three payments, £60, in two years from that time.”

The lands in the north half of Woodstock, through the assessments made upon the Roxbury proprietors for the payment of the £100, as before related, and for other charges, became to be regarded rather as a burden than as desirable property, when, from time to time, the records of Roxbury show there were frequent transfers to relieve themselves from such charges.

The people of Roxbury, as well as the settlers at Woodstock, began to have a desire to close up the connection that existed in their affairs.

At a town meeting in Roxbury, May 5, 1693-'94, the selectmen were directed to settle all matters of difference between that town and Woodstock; a committee from the latter town, it appears, were there for that purpose.

irritable by sickness and fanatical zeal, could scarcely be restrained from taking the lives of any who she imagined interfered with her rights to the throne. Philip now favored Elizabeth, as it became evident that his hold upon the throne of England by Mary would, ere long, cease by her death.

He now, no doubt, looked to Elizabeth as his only hope, in the loss of his wife, for continuing his interests in the succession. Elizabeth, while here, devoted her time to her studies, until the death of Queen Mary, November 17, 1558.

She now came to the throne; but Philip's hopes in the succession, through a marriage with Elizabeth, soon ended in disappointment.

Also, there is an amusing story of a hoax perpetrated here in 1649. Commissioners had been sent here to survey the ancient manor-house and park of Woodstock, when they were interrupted by singular noises, which they took to be from ghosts which haunted the place. This story is styled “The Good Devils of Woodstock.” See Hone's *Every Day Book*, vol. II, p. 582.

This is the story upon which Sir Walter Scott founds his *Waverley* novel, “Woodstock.”

Roxbury claimed the following charges :

For a petition to the General Court for the									
patent, and a draft for same, paid Consta-	£.	s.	d.						
ble Weld - - - - -	0	10	0						
Preparing said petition - - - - -	0	10	0						
For confirmation of patent - - - - -	3	0	0						
For parchment for drawing patent - - - - -	0	2	01						

At a town meeting, October 1, 1694, it was agreed by the people of Roxbury to assess the polls and estates of the inhabitants £53 9s. 5d., money, for the balance of the £100, promised the first settlers in the plantation at Woodstock.

Again, the subject of this payment still delayed, was brought forward at a town meeting, March 4, 1694-'95, when it was declared,

“That all parties against whom assessment had been made for the payment of the balance of the £100, promised the first settlers in the grant of the General Court to Roxbury in the Nipmug country, who shall neglect the payment of such assessment more than fourteen days from this date, and the payment for patent charges therewith, shall forfeit his or their rights in the town's half of the said grant, notwithstanding what they have already paid towards the same.”

It was also provided,

“For the laying out of the Nipmug lands in the north half of that grant, the ensuing summer, into such several divisions as shall be judged needful and convenient for the town. In which division, each of the inhabitants will receive their proportional right in the same, as it shall fall to them by lot.”

The following is a copy of a letter found recorded upon the town records of Roxbury, received, as it shows, from the people of Woodstock, desiring a settlement of affairs between the parties, and a deed of the land, or half of the town, which, by mutual agreement, belonged now to them.

“WOODSTOCK, September 12, 1695.

“*To the Town of Roxbury :*

“GENTLEMEN—

“The time being much about expired, wherein all things between us are to be accomplished according to the articles of agreement between our committee,

“These are, therefore, to desire that the remaining part of the £100, and surveying part of money, together with a deed of our land, according to agreement, be delivered to Captain Josiah Chapin, whom this town doth appoint and depute to receive it, and to give a full discharge in our behalf thereof.

“Thus expecting your willingness and readiness to comply with our righteous and reasonable demands and request, we rest your very loving friends and neighbors,

“JOHN CHANDLER, JUNIOR,

“*In the Name and by Order of the Town.*”

Then follows the receipt, as above authorized :

“April 5, 1696.

“Received of the selectmen of Roxbury the complete sum of £23 2s., current money, of the £100 promised by the inhabitants of Roxbury to the first settlers of the land granted by the General Court unto the inhabitants of Roxbury, in the Nipmug country, now called ‘Woodstock.’ I say received the day and year above written, by order of the selectmen of Woodstock, and for their use and account.

“By me,

“JOSIAH CHAPIN,

“Witness:

“JOSEPH LYON, }
“JOHN GORE, Clerk.” }

By an arrangement of the town of Roxbury, made on the 26th of April, 1696,

“It was agreed that the town’s half of the land in Woodstock be laid out to each and every inhabitant of Roxbury, according to the proportion of ten acres of land for every shilling by them paid towards the £100, which this town promised and paid to the first settlers of Woodstock; and that the charges for the survey and laying out the same shall be borne by the proprietors in proportion to their number of acres.

Also, it was agreed,

“That if the committee engaged by the town to lay out the shares in this land see cause to run the lots north and south, then the numbering of the lots, in order to the drawing for them, shall begin on the east side of the town, at the south-east corner, next to the division line between the first *goers* and *stayers*, and so in all the rest of the divisions. But if the said committee shall see cause to lay out the said lots east and west, yet notwithstanding, the said lots shall begin at the south-east corner, and the end of each lot shall abut upon the high-way; the

said committee to have respect to the quality of the land in laying out the same."

It then reads :

"John Butcher was pitched upon for a surveyor, and Lieut. Samuel Ruggles and John Davis, senior, were appointed and authorized by the town to be a committee for the survey and laying out the allotments, and fulfilling the agreement as is here expressed. But if Lieut. Ruggles' going to Newbury shall hinder his attending to this duty, then Samuel Scarborough shall act in his stead. £27 6s. 9d. was raised for the expense of this survey, June 28th, following."

The bills, as rendered for the expense of the foregoing survey of allotments, were as follows :

	£	s.	d.
Services and expenses of John Butcher, surveyor,	4	00	00
“ “ Samuel Scarborough,	7	07	06
“ “ Samuel Ruggles,	0	16	04
“ “ John Davis, senior,	8	05	00
“ “ Captain Stevens,	0	12	09
“ — Constable, John Lyon,	0	04	00

The towns of Roxbury and Woodstock

"Agreed, March 1st, 1706, on the request of Woodstock, to survey and run the division line between the south and north halves of that town. It was described as the half belonging to the inhabitants of Woodstock, and the half that belongs to the inhabitants of Roxbury.

"The surveyor and parties who run the division line to be such as the two towns shall employ; and it was proposed that the bounds of the whole town be run by the same parties, and that a surveyor be sent up by Roxbury.

"John Gore was selected for this business as the surveyor, and Samuel Williams, of Roxbury, and Deacon Edward Morris, of Woodstock, were to represent Roxbury, to join with such as Woodstock may appoint, to run said partition line, and also to do what may otherwise be thought needful in running the side lines of that town."

" March 12th, 1706.

"The town of Roxbury appointed Deacon Edward Morris, and Benjamin Griggs, of Woodstock, to act in their behalf for the aforesaid survey of the division line, with instructions for marking the trees along the line; to mark W on the Woodstock side, and R on Roxbury side,"

Furthermore, the parties in charge of this survey of the line of division were instructed to keep an account of the several trees marked, that each town may enter them in their book of records.

The town of Roxbury appointed Jacob Parker to act with the committee for this survey, to take care to prevent the destruction of timber upon the Roxbury land at Woodstock.

Furthermore,

“March 1st, 1708, the town of Roxbury authorized Deacon Edward Morris and Benjamin Griggs to prosecute any parties who have or shall cut or carry off any timber or wood, or mow any meadow that belongs to any person of Roxbury or that town, unless they can show liberty under the hands of any particular person of this town to do so.”

The running of the division line and border lines as aforesaid began on the 5th of March, 1707, beginning on the east side, running from Pompwongganug Hill, at the south-east corner, and finished, March 8, following.

“Then the line was begun on the west side of Muddy Brook, and extended west, when were found a number of marked trees, which were renewed, with W on the south side, and R on the north side, and a blaze on the east side (-), and on the west (O).”

Then follows in the records of Roxbury the marked trees throughout the division line, from the east to west side of the town.

(Signed)	JOHN CHANDLER, <i>Surveyor</i> ,	
	EDWARD MORRIS,	} <i>Committee.</i>
	BENJAMIN GRIGGS,	

On the 11th of May, 1711, the town of Roxbury appointed Captain Samuel Ruggles, Captain John Bowles, and Lieutenant Samuel Williams, to lay out the remaining lands in the north half of Woodstock.

There are recorded some of the transfers of these lands in the north half of Woodstock on the last leaf of the Roxbury book of records, as late as January 27, 1730.

These lands having been divided and become individual property, the town of Roxbury now ceased to have any interest in them ; and thus, so far as the action of the town was required, that interest closed with the last division of their share, as located in the north half of Woodstock, then continued to be known for several years as New Roxbury.

Although the town of Roxbury owned the property of one half of the land in Woodstock, she, as a town, never exercised any political rights there ; and those who took up lands in the north half of that town were admitted to participate in all the political affairs of Woodstock, the same as those located in the south half. Their only separate interests were those of property in lands.

Having here closed the transactions which Roxbury had with the grant of land for Woodstock, the affairs of the settlers or residents, in relation to their political, religious, educational, and other concerns, will now be given, so far as has been ascertained ; briefly, for the reason that circumstances, distance from the place, and want of time have prevented any extended research for further information.

Having before stated, that on the 5th of April, 1686, thirteen planters had gone forward to spy out the grant, and to commence the plantation, the records show that on the 21st of July following, a meeting of "goers to settle" was held at Roxbury, preparatory for moving to this new plantation, to reinforce the first thirteen who began their residence here in April preceding.

Soon after the arrival of this company of "goers to settle," the first political meeting of the settlers was held on the plantation, August 25, 1686.

The object of this meeting was, first, to select a place for a meeting-house, a suitable lot for a minister, and then to provide home lots for themselves. Their next movement was the location of high-ways needful for their present settlement.

These first planters of Woodstock located on the hill now known as the high grounds of the south parish, being attracted there by the beauty of that elevation of land, which includes the present center village, the academy, and the Congregational church, which is a continuation of the church and society planted there by these early fathers of the town. This meeting-house, it is believed, is now located near the spot selected by these first planters in August, 1686.

And here, it is understood, was located the Wabquassit village of the ancient Nipmucks, where those natives were, by the apostle Eliot, in September, 1674, invited to a participation in the saving grace of the Gospel.

It is worthy of remark, in this connection, that there is ample proof of the judgment exercised by the Indians: that their wisdom in the selection of their town sites was, in most all cases, adopted by the English, their successors. Where once stood the cabins in the native village, now stands the meeting-house, the school-house, and, clustering around, the homes of the white man:

“ They, to greet the pale-faced stranger,
Stretch'd an unsuspecting hand;
Entrapp'd by treaties, driven forth to range
The distant West in misery and revenge.”

Such were the settlements before King Philip's war: the trader and trapper first made a lodgment in the native village; then the place was selected for a grant for a town—the Indians conveying their right for a mere pittance by a piece of paper, the contents of which to them were more difficult to decipher than were the hieroglyphics to Champolion.

This hill of the south parish is called in the records of the town the *Plain Hill*; and it was decided by them that here should be erected their meeting-house, and that the laying out of home lots for planters should begin on the north end of this hill.

The roads were laid out, running north and south, one on either side, six rods wide, and a broad road through the center, eight rods wide. The cross roads as might best accommodate the inhabitants.

The house or home lots, it was agreed, at first, should be thirty acres, but afterward, as they remark, "considering that large lots serve to scatter the settlers, it was decided to reduce these lots to twenty acres."

It was then decided that the minister's lot should be the third in number, and consist of twenty acres, with rights ; by which rights is understood to be the right to participate with the first settlers in the future divisions of land in the south half of the town, which became the property of those who removed to this country, and became inhabitants, to fulfill the conditions made by the General Court for issuing the grant to the people of Roxbury.

To these parties alone, whose names will hereafter appear, belonged the exclusive right to all the land in the south half of this town, as aforesaid.

Thus their minister (as was the custom then to be settled with his people, and be their religious teacher during his natural life) was to be received into the company of the founders of the town ; and, as he was to participate in their sorrows and joys, he was also to be as one of them, and participate in the advantages to be derived from their large domain.

A committee of seven, Joseph Griggs, John Chandler, Senior ; Edward Morris, Senior ; Samuel Craft, Henry Bowen, Samuel Scarborough, and Jonathan Smithers were selected to locate the house lots of these first planters.

These were to be drawn for by lot, there being no preference to be given, but each to take his chance for success in the drawing for his future homestead. And it was agreed that any changes or dissatisfaction in the locations which fell to

the several proprietors, were to be referred to this committee for adjustment.

The lots having been all located and made known to the planters, and the preparations made for drawing and settling this important question,

“Then, after solemn prayer to God, who is the disposer of all things, they draw lots for their homesteads, according to the aforesaid agreement; every one being satisfied and contented.”

This arrangement appears to have been managed with much wisdom and propriety for sustaining peace and harmony in the new and wilderness plantation, then far removed from the abode of civilization.

This meeting of these hardy pioneers in the distant wilderness, kneeling and uniting in solemn prayer, supplicating Divine favor upon this important act of theirs, the selection of a future home for themselves and their families, where in health and in sickness, prosperity or adversity, they were to continue the remainder of their lives, was, doubtless, regarded by them, as it well might be, a sacred discharge of duty.

It would be an interesting sight to witness such a homely, but solemn meeting of these men, and an interesting subject for the pencil of the artist. This meeting, however, was but a sample of the strong religious feeling that pervaded all the acts of the early Puritans of New England.

All the first planters who founded the town of Woodstock, except four, Peter Aspinwall, James Corbin, John Butcher, and John Holmes, were from the town of Roxbury, and members of the parish and church of the Rev. John Eliot, the first minister of Roxbury. They, no doubt, were partakers of his devotion and zeal in the cause of religion; and from this beginning is derived the religious sentiment which has since strongly characterized the people of this ancient town.

The lots were drawn by each of the proprietors according to the number set against their names, as follows:

Lot 1	{ Thomas Bacon and Joseph Bacon	Lot 23	Benjamin Griggs
" 2	James Corbin	" 24	William Lyon, Jr.
" 3	The Minister's	" 25	John Levens
" 4	Benjamin Sabin	" 26	Nathaniel Sawyer
" 5	Henry Bowen	" 27	Samuel Scarborough
" 6	Thomas Lyon	" 28	Samuel Craft
" 7	Ebenezer Morris	" 29	Samuel May
" 8	Mathew Davis	" 30	Joseph Ruggles
" 9	William Lyon	" 31	John Peacock
" 10	{ John Chandler, Sr. and Ebenezer Cass	" 32	Arthur Humphrey
" 11	Peter Aspinwall	" 33	John Bugbee
" 12	John Frizell	" 34	John Ruggles
" 13	Joseph Frizell	" 35	Andrew Watkins
" 14	Jonathan Smithers	" 36	John Marcy
" 15	John Butcher	" 37	Edward Morris
" 16	Jonathan Davis	" 38	Joseph Peake
" 17	Jonathan Peak	" 39	John Holmes
" 18	Nathaniel Gary	" 40	John Chandler, Jr.
" 19	John Bowen	" 41	William Bartholomew
" 20	Nathaniel Johnson	" 42	Isaac Bartholomew
" 21	John Hubbard	" 43	{ Clemont Corbin and Joseph Deming
" 22	George Griggs	" 44	Samuel Rice."

A reservation had been made when laying out these lots, for a common burying-ground, a location for their meeting-house, and of a quarry for hearth and building stones. And as the records state,

" And to them who were in possession in May, 1687, and undertook to fulfill the conditions of the court's grant, belonged the sole propriety of one half of the grant, as per the agreement with the town of Roxbury."

The lots forty-three and forty-four for Corbin and Deming, and Samuel Rice, granted the 7th of January, 1688, it is not certain that they had rights in the proprietary land; it may have been granted to them, but there is no record of such a transaction, that has been seen. A committee, consisting of

Edward Morris, John Chandler, Senior, Nathaniel Johnson, and Joseph White, were appointed, April 27, 1686,

“For contracting with William Bartholomew, of Bramford, to build a corn-mill. Each planter to bear his proportion of the cost, according to the value of his home lot. By contract, this mill was to be located on the falls of the brook from Muddy Brook Pond, now Harrisville, and ‘to supply the town with grinding good meal, free from grit, as is ground by other mills.’

“The committee to furnish the place for the mill, with the benefit of the water, and to give Mr. Bartholomew a fifteen-acre house lot, thirty acres right of meadow, and fifteen acres right of upland, and, in addition, 100 acres of upland.”

This last hundred acres, being mentioned additional, and not the words “with rights,” it is presumed it did not carry with it a proportional right in the division of the proprietary lands. William Bartholomew, no doubt, was regarded as an enterprising and useful inhabitant, from the fact that at a planters’ meeting, September 29, 1687, it was voted,

“That Wm. Bartholomew shall have twenty acres of land in addition to the foregoing, if he will bring his wife and settle there before the next June.”

The increase of the inhabitants made it necessary to lay out further roads, as is seen by the action of the town in March, 1688. The committee appointed for this purpose were Edward Morris, John Chandler, William Bartholomew, Joseph Bugbee, Benjamin Lubin, John Butcher, and Samuel Rice. This Mr. Rice was admitted to the plantation, and received a lot, January 7, 1688.

It is presumed that Mr. William Bartholomew had complied with the desire of the inhabitants, and had secured the twenty acres of land offered him, on condition that he bring his wife, and that this lady was now one of the good dames of Woodstock.

Mr. William Bartholomew soon became a conspicuous man in the plantation.

Those Puritan fathers paid a proper regard to their minister. It appears by the records that on the 27th of October, 1690, a committee was appointed to build him a house ; these men were William Bartholomew, Nathaniel Johnson, and Benjamin Sabin, who were instructed to build the house forty feet long by nineteen feet wide, and fourteen feet stud, with a cellar seventeen feet square, and to have four stacks of chimneys and gables. This house was to be erected, covered in, and one end finished by May, 1692. The other end as soon as they could conveniently. They were to let out the work, and superintend its finishing.

For the payment of the cost of this house a tax levy was authorized and levied upon the home lots of all the proprietors, and the constable directed to collect the same.

The support of the minister at this period, and the building the ministerial house and the meeting-house, throughout New England, except perhaps, Rhode Island, was legally the business and duty of all towns. Taxes for these objects were assessed upon the polls and estates of the inhabitants the same as for schools and other town charges.

The tax levies at this time in Woodstock were laid upon the house lots, for the reason that this was the only improved or taxable estate, as wild lands in Massachusetts at this period were by law not taxable.

Moneyed capital or mechanical business did not exist here now, except the common blacksmith, house-carpenter, wheelwright, and plough-maker—sufficient for conducting the business of an agricultural community.

The hand-cards, the spinning-wheel, and the hand-loom, were the domestic arrangement in the female department.

It is scarcely possible to realize that the vast establishments conducted by steam and water power for the manufacture of wool and cotton are of so recent origin. Not until about the time of the American Revolution was this system first intro-

duced into England, and about twenty years later it was first introduced by Samuel Slater into the United States.*

The importance of attending public political meetings, and punctuality in the opinion of the good people of this town, is sufficiently shown by a vote at a meeting held on the 27th of November, 1690 :

“That every person neglecting to attend town meeting shall pay a fine of 1s. 6d., and sixpence for not appearing at the time appointed, and an additional sixpence for every hour of absence from the meeting afterward.”

This meeting of November 27, 1690, was their first town meeting after the town received the name of Woodstock; and, at this meeting, it made its first organization of town officers.

The business of the plantation of a public nature up to this time had been transacted by the selection of special committees for the performance of duties assigned to them.

The town organization was as follows :

“ Town Clerk,	John Chandler, Junior.
	{ John Chandler, Senior.
	{ William Bartholomew,
“ Selectmen,	{ Benjamin Sabin,
	{ John Levens,
	{ Joseph Bugbee,
	{ Jonathan Peak,
“ Assessors,	{ Matthew Davis,
	{ Samuel Rice.

“Also requested and procured John Chandler, Junior, to instruct children and youth to read, write, and cipher.† It was agreed at this

* The first jenny for spinning cotton was invented by Hargreaves in 1767; the water-frame by Arkwright in 1769; the power-loom by Rev. D. E. Cartwright in 1785; the dressing-machine by Johnson and Radcliffe in 1804; another by Horrocks, 1813; mule-spinning by Samuel Crompton in 1779; and the self-acting mule by Roberts in 1825. Steam-power first applied as a motor in manufacturing by Boulton and Watt in 1785; bleaching by means of chloride of lime introduced by Tenant, of Glasgow, in 1798; water-power cotton-spinning first introduced into the United States by Mr. Slater in 1790; and the power-loom first operated in this country at Waltham, Massachusetts, in 1814.

† This request for schooling is the first movement seen on record at Woodstock, for educating their children, 1690.

meeting that in future the time for the election of town officers should be the last Monday in November, annually.

“Each planter was now ordered to bring in for record the ear-mark for distinguishing his cattle. A large part of their lands lying as common lands, the cattle of the plantation herded together; the ear-mark being necessary to show the ownership of the cattle by different planters.”

Another vote passed at this meeting shows the care and prudence the first planters manifested for the protection of their dwelling-houses and other buildings.

Every planter was required to procure a ladder for his house by the 1st of February, 1691, or suffer a penalty of five shillings; and Jonathan Peak was directed to see that this was done.

This custom of procuring ladders for dwelling-houses, to run from the ground to the top of the roof of each house, to be ready for use in case of fire, prevailed in New England generally, until the system of insurance was adopted. Formerly the ladder and a few spare buckets were the chief means relied on for extinguishing fires, and where loss was sustained by fire the only relief was the generosity of neighbors.

It became a pretty general custom for neighbors to join in procuring material and labor to rebuild and provide for such misfortunes.

This custom continued to a quite recent date, to about 1825 to 1830; but when insurance companies became general, and there was opportunity for every owner of property perishable by fire to provide against such loss at a moderate cost, it soon was regarded as a duty each party owed to himself; and, as people generally availed themselves of the opportunity, and kept their property insured, the custom of private contribution ceased, and the party who neglected to insure, and lost his property, was soon regarded as justly punished for negligence, and not an object for contribution.

It can scarcely be realized that the well-regulated system of insurance by joint-stock companies, governed by wise statute enactments for both the insurer and insured, is of so recent origin.

The first system of insurance to provide against fire or marine disaster was by individual agreement. The sum or amount to be protected by insurance was fully stated and explained in writing, setting forth the risk either by fire or water, when persons of known capital would assume a stipulated amount of the property at such risk, by undersigning the agreement and stating against their name the sum assured, with the rate that was agreed upon, which rate was paid at the time the risk was taken. From this custom of underwriting and assuming such risks originated the name "*Underwriters*," which is now frequently applied to persons engaged in the business of insurance.

Insurance on ships and cargoes, it is said, had its origin with the Romans, A. D., 43, and was in general use in commercial towns in Italy, in 1194; and, to some extent, in England, in 1560.

The first law in England regulating insurance was enacted near the close of the reign of Queen Elizabeth in 1601; but insurance upon houses did not begin in London until after the great fire of 1667. Then it was only by underwriters.

The first insurance company in London was established in 1696, and styled the "*Hand-in-Hand*." From this name has arisen the custom of denoting insurance by the sign of two hands clasped together, in token of mutual aid and friendship, which sign is now frequently seen on insurance signs, or cards, or emblems placed on houses that are insured. It will be noticed that this vote in Woodstock, November 27, 1690, for procuring ladders, was six years before the first insurance company was established in London.

It was their custom to acknowledge their dependence on

God, and to ask the Divine blessing upon all their doings; their town and other meetings were opened by prayer. This custom was also general in New England at this period, and continued to a quite recent time. Also it was their custom, after the choice of moderator and town clerk, to have the Riot act read before the meeting, and likewise the statute enactment against immorality, profanity, and intemperance.

There were some apparent inconsistencies with these devout Puritans. It has been noticed that at one of their town meetings, after reading the law against intemperance, a vote was passed ordering the purchase of eight shillings' worth of drink at the expense of the town.*

These good people of Woodstock, having the previous year provided a house for their minister, they now, in 1691, called a town meeting to take measures for building a meeting-house.

Four citizens were selected for its superintendence: Edward Morris, Jonathan Peak, John Levens, and John Chandler, Junior. The dimensions of this house were thirty feet long by twenty-four feet wide, with fourteen feet stud.

It is traditionary that these pioneers, prior to the erecting this first house for religious worship, held their meetings in a hickory-grove in their neighborhood during summer, seated upon the rocks under the branches of the trees. It was their

* There were no total abstinence societies among the Puritans; but, on the contrary, the moderate use of spirituous liquors was habitual in those days.

In October, 1730, there appears a vote on the records of the town of Mendon, directing the purchase of a barrel of rum for the use of the company that were to raise the meeting-house.

There was much opposition to the building of this meeting-house at Mendon, and, as appears, some party of the opposition, after the new meeting-house had been raised, undertook to cut off one of the corner parts, but, for some reason, left the job unfinished. The town took notice of this act as follows: August 21, 1731--*Voted*: "To see whether the town will choose a committee to find out who hath damnified the meeting-house by cutting one of the posts." The vote was in the negative.

Mr. Barber relates in his historical collections, published in 1840, that the work of cutting the post was still to be seen in their present old meeting-house.

The present ideas regarding the use of spirituous liquors, as a beverage, did not commence to operate upon public sentiment until about 1830, although the evil effects of their use had been regarded by many persons with much concern, for the general welfare of the people much earlier.

custom, at this early period, to keep sentinels to watch the length and breadth of the Plain Hill, and, descending to the valleys on either side through the night, to notice any intrusion by either brute, or more brutish savage, that at this time not unfrequently lurked about their isolated homes in the neighboring forests ; but, fortunately, they escaped from any disaster of this kind, while their neighbor plantation at Oxford suffered severely and was broken up by them.

In this small, first meeting-house, the devout settlers of Woodstock, as also those of the grant for Pomfret, up to the year 1715 (that town had no religious society until that year), came from all parts of the settlement to the Plain Hill, to unite in their religious worship.

The Puritans at this time did not permit any diversity of religious faith ; as set forth in all grants for towns, it was imperative that they should settle among them and maintain (as then styled) a learned, orthodox, godly minister, commonly called, “ of the *standing order*.” The people, as now, were not troubled with selecting a denomination preacher to suit their own ideas of religious faith ; this exercise of thought was provided for by legislative enactments. The ideas of the elder Dudley then prevailed :

“ Let men of God in courts and churches watch,
O’er such as do a toleration hatch ;
Lest that ill egg bring forth a cockatrice,
To poison all with heresy and vice.”

The workmanship of these early church structures was of the most plain and simple character ; the outside covered in with plain, inclosing boards, and seldom any interior finish upon the walls, neither with plaster nor other ceilings.

The storms of winter not unfrequently brought drifts of snow through the coarsely finished exterior. There were but few, if any, of the nicely arranged works for convenience or comfort in those old meeting-houses.

Scarcely even a fire-place, or any preparation for warming, except the hot brick or foot-stove. The plain, smooth, board seat answered the place of the easy cushion prepared by their descendants.

Constant attendance of all, unless in sickness, was expected and insisted upon, even in the coldest and most severe weather. Their prayers and sermons were not short, like those in fashion in many modern churches, but consumed hours in discussing hard and knotty questions in theology.

The poetic description of these old houses and church-goers, given by Mrs. Seba Smith, comes quite appropriate here :

“ They are all passing from the land,
Those churches, old and gray,
In which our fathers used to stand,
In years gone by, to pray—
They never knelt, those stern old men,
Who worship'd at our altars then.

“ No, all that e'en the semblance bore
Of popedom on its face,
Our fathers, as the men of yore,
Spurn'd from the holy place—
They bow'd the heart alone in prayer,
And worship'd God thus sternly there.

“ Through coarse gray plaster might be seen,
Oak timbers large and strong,
And those who reared them must have been
Stout men when they were young.
For oft I've heard my grandsire speak,
How men were growing thin and weak.

“ His heart was twined, I do believe,
Round every timber there—
For memory lov'd a web to weave
Of all the young and fair,
Who gather'd there with him to pray,
For many a long, long Sabbath day.

“ I see it all once more ; once more
 That lengthen'd prayer I hear—
 I hear the child's foot kick the door—
 I see the mother's fear—
 And that long knotty sermon, too,
 My grandfather heard it all quite through.

“ But as it deeper grew and deep—
 He always used to rise—
 He would not, like the women, sleep—
 But stood with fixed eyes,
 And look'd intent upon the floor,
 To hear each dark point o'er and o'er.

“ Aye, pull them down, as well you may,
 Those altars stern and old—
 They speak of those long pass'd away,
 Whose ashes now are cold,
 Few, few are now the strong arm'd men
 Who worship'd at our altars then.

“ Hard thinkers were they, those old men,
 And patient, too, I ween—
 Long words and knotty questions then
 But made our fathers keen.
 I doubt me if their sons would hear
 Such lengthy sermons year by year.”

The remarks upon the character of the Puritans, by Rev. Leonard Bacon, D. D., pastor of the first church in New Haven, included in his thirteen historical discourses, published in 1839, will not, it is believed, be deemed out of place here, while attempting to preserve the acts and memory of some of the class included in the remarks referred to, which planted this old town :

“ It is always easy to detract from greatness ; for the greatest minds are not exempt from infirmity, and the purest and noblest bear some stain of human imperfection. Let others find fault with the founders of the New England colonies, because they were not more than human ; be it ours to honor them.

“ We have no occasion to disparage the wisdom or the virtues of the lawgivers of other States ; nor need the admirers of Calvert or of Penn

detract from the wisdom, the valor, or the devotion of the fathers of New England.

“Not to Winthrop and Cotton, nor to Eaton or Davenport, nor yet to Bradford and Brewster, belongs the glory of demonstrating with how little government society can be kept together, and men’s lives and property be safe from violence.”

“That glory belongs to Roger Williams; and to him belongs also the better glory of striking out and maintaining, with the enthusiasm though not without something of the extravagance of genius, the great conception of a perfect religious liberty.

“New England has learned to honor the name of Roger Williams, as one of the most illustrious in her records; and his principles of unlimited religious freedom are now incorporated into the being of all her commonwealths.

“To Penn belongs the glory of having first opened in this land a free and broad asylum for men of every faith and every lineage. To him due honor is conceded; and America, still receiving into her broad-armed ports, and enrolling among her own citizens, the thousands that come, not only from the British Isles, but from the Alps, and from the Rhine, and from the bloody soil of Poland, glories in his spreading renown.

“What, then, do we claim for the Pilgrims of Plymouth, what for the stern old Puritans of the Bay and of Connecticut, what for the founders of New Haven? Nothing, but that you look with candor on what they have done for their posterity and for the world. Their labors, their principles, their institutions have made New England, with its hard soil and its cold long winters, the glory of all lands.

“The thousand towns and villages; the decent sanctuaries, not for show but use, crowning the hill-tops or peering out from the valleys; the means of education accessible to every family; the universal diffusion of knowledge; the order and thrift; the general activity and enterprise; the unparalleled equality in the distribution of property; the general happiness resulting from the diffusion of education and of pure religious doctrine; the safety in which more than half the population sleep nightly with unbolted doors; the calm, holy Sabbath, when mute nature in the general silence becomes vocal with praise, when the whisper of the breeze seems more distinct, the distant water-fall louder and more musical, the carol of the morning birds clearer and sweeter—this is New England; and where will you find the like, save where you find the operation of New England principles and New England influence?

“This is the worth of our fathers and ancient lawgivers.

“They came here, not with new theories of government from the laboratories of political alchemists, not to try wild experiments upon human nature, but only to found a new empire for God, for truth, for

virtue, for freedom guarded and bounded by justice. To have failed in such an attempt had been glorious. Their glory is that they succeeded.

“In founding this commonwealth, their highest aim was the glory of God in the common welfare of all. Never before, save when God brought the children of Israel out of Egypt, had any government been instituted with such an aim.

“They had no model before them, and no guidance save the principles of truth and righteousness embodied in the word of God, and the wisdom which he giveth liberally to them that ask him.

“They thought that their end, the common welfare of all, was to be secured by founding pure and free churches, by providing the means of universal education, and by laws maintaining perfect justice, which is the only perfect liberty. All will acknowledge that their labors were not in vain.”

No town in New England exhibited stronger proofs of Puritan origin than the people of Woodstock. Their severe ideas of religious observances, the holy keeping of the Sabbath, their provisions for the education of their children, their great industry and frugality, were nowhere exceeded.

They had heard their fathers, the founders of Boston, Roxbury, and that vicinity, tell the story of the trials which determined them to exile themselves to this inhospitable country, then the abode of a savage race; their hardships encountered in establishing their new homes; the declared object in this severe undertaking; and in emulation of the same spirit, these pioneer settlers fearlessly and cheerfully went forth to found this town; to continue the work so wisely and piously begun, and transmitted to their hands; and their sons have not proved unworthy children of such devout sires.

By the commencement of the year 1692, these planters had entered an unbroken forest and completed all the usual arrangements for a well organized town, established suitable roads, built a house for their minister, a house for public religious worship, and provided schooling for their children. And besides erecting houses for their families, subduing the forests, and preparing their tillage lands for producing sustenance for their families and the domestic animals of the

plantation, they had erected a corn-mill for their common benefit; all this the efforts of the first five years at this place.

They had a government of their own, with the usual necessary municipal regulations customary in New England towns.

Their enterprise partook of the energy and untiring zeal of their former beloved pastor at Roxbury; it bears evidence that they had profited by his example; they no doubt felt their indebtedness to him for his knowledge of this country, which led them to seek it for their future habitation upon his representations of its richness and beauty.

As has before been mentioned, a settlement of all money transactions existing between them was closed by the joint action of Roxbury and Woodstock in a receipt for the balance due the latter town, given to their agent, Josiah Chapin, dated "April 5, 1696;" but a separation of the north and south half was not accurately defined by an established line run by joint commissioners, until March, 1707.

By the running of this partition line in 1707, it appears that all business interests closed between Woodstock and the mother town; and by the closing division of lands in the north half of Woodstock by commissioners duly appointed by Roxbury in 1711, all her interest as a town in the lands of Woodstock ceased, and henceforth she had no more interest there, except as matter of friendship for her former townsmen who had made Woodstock their future homes, than with other towns in the province.

The proprietary interest continued a distinct matter from that of the political affairs of this town for many years.

These proprietors' records begin with the foundation of the town, and were not closed until a quite recent date, the last entry in their books being the record of the receipt of five dollars paid by Stephen Johnson to Darius Barlow, dated, "March 10, 1824." All the lands in the north half became

individual property after the closing division by the town of Roxbury in 1711, while some part of the lands in the south half remained many years under the joint management of proprietors, and were either sold to new-comers or divided, according as there was a demand for them at different times, among the original proprietors or their descendants. The foregoing historical facts are taken either from the records of Roxbury or Woodstock; the first are well preserved by new transcripts, and it is hoped that Woodstock will, before too late, follow the commendable example of the mother town.

Woodstock maintained from its commencement an uninterrupted progress, unlike most of the settlements in the early New England towns, many of which were wholly broken up, and their labors made useless or greatly injured by the depredations of the Indians. Although the great Indian war of Philip, the Wampanoog, had the effect to destroy all the principal native nationalities in New England, in 1675-'76, except the Abenakis, or what was known as the Tarrantines of Maine and its vicinity, yet whenever war prevailed between England and France in Europe it soon extended to their American colonies, when each drew the interior native race to their aid. The New England settlements were not free from the deadly attacks of the Canadian Indians, until the colonial dominion of France ceased to exist in North America, as per treaty of 1763.*

* These wars continued through a period of seventy years. :

First. King William's war commenced in 1688, and closed by the treaty of Ryswick, in Europe, in 1697, but continued in America till 1698.

Second. Queen Anne's war began in 1702, and closed by the treaty of Utrecht, July 13, 1713.

Third. Lovell's war, in Maine and New Hampshire mostly, began July 25, 1722, and closed December 15, 1725.

Fourth. The French and Spanish war began in 1745; the capture of Cape Breton was made, with the fortress of Louisburg, in this war; it was closed by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, October 18, 1748.

Fifth. The great French war in America began in 1754, and lost to France all her colonies in North America; and was closed by the treaty of Paris, February 10, 1763.

CHAPTER II.

HOW WOODSTOCK BECAME A TOWN IN CONNECTICUT, AND SOME INCIDENTS OF SUBSEQUENT HISTORY.

THE town of Woodstock was changed in its colonial jurisdiction, from Massachusetts to Connecticut by a change of the location of the boundary line between these colonies.

This location of the division line was an unhappy difference of views between the parties through a period of over seventy years.

The first boundary line on the south side of the colony of Massachusetts, known for many years as the "Woodward and Safery Line," was run in 1642, about twenty years before Connecticut received her charter. Previous to this time that colony had claimed its rights, but doubtfully, under the old charter (so-called) by Robert, Earl of Warwick, of March 19, 1631, through the transfer of Fort Saybrook and other property improvements, under the agreement made with Colonel George Fenwick in 1644.

Many ineffectual attempts at different times through this long period had been made for the amicable adjustment of this line, but it was not accomplished until 1713; and then by an arbitrary line made by an agreement entered into, July 13, of that year.

By the running of this line it was ascertained that the Woodward and Safery line was erroneous; being from six to seven miles too far south; when, the territory of Woodstock, heretofore supposed to be within the charter of Massachusetts, proved to be fully seven eighths within the charter of Connecticut procured by Governor John Winthrop, Junior, from

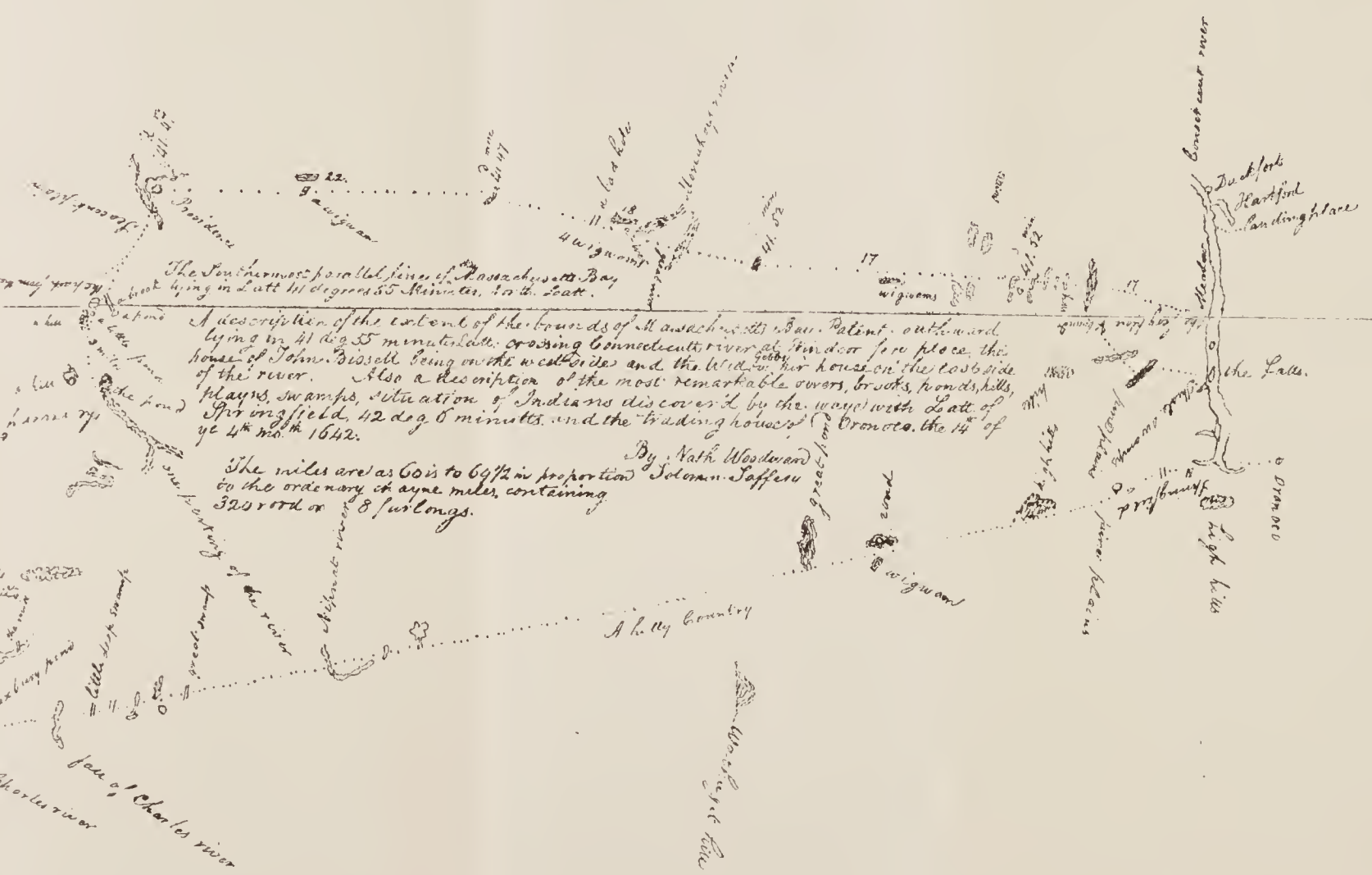
Charles II, April 20, 1662. But nevertheless, by the agreement entered into by the commissioners mutually chosen for the purpose of running this line, the town of Woodstock, also two other towns bordering on Connecticut river, Suffield and Enfield, both also found to be south of this new line, were to remain as Massachusetts towns, and to be under the political jurisdiction of that colony; but for so much of their territory as by survey of the same should be found south of said line of 1713, Connecticut was to receive an equivalent number of acres, to be taken from any unappropriated lands in the province of Massachusetts, to be selected by the commissioners appointed by Connecticut for that purpose.

This line was established under said agreement, and Massachusetts appropriated 107,793 acres of land for these towns, as an equivalent number of acres, for the land in the same and some other grants made by Massachusetts to individuals, that were also found to be south of said new line; and Connecticut received the same and appropriated them to her use; thus making an amicable, and at the time a satisfactory, settlement of this difficult and long-contested question.*

Woodstock did not object (so far as has been noticed in her records) to remain a part of Massachusetts. It is believed that her inhabitants, feeling satisfied with the arrangement made by the colonies for establishing this line, took no action in the matter. They were recently from the towns around Boston, and their relatives and friends were in that vicinity, with whom they were often having intercourse, making it appear reasonable for them to prefer a continuance under the same jurisdiction from whence they came.

* This subject, relating to the origin and settlement of the controversy about this boundary line, will be more fully related in the history of the same and other matters between these colonies, in another volume.

See Hutchinson's history of Massachusetts, vol. II, pp. 183-187. The map of the south line of Massachusetts, by Woodward and Saffery, inserted here, is believed to be its first appearance in print.



The southernmost parallel line of Massachusetts Bay
lying in Lat 41 degrees 55 Minutes, North East.

A description of the extent of the bounds of Massachusetts Bay Patent, outward
lying in 41 deg 5 minutes Lat. crossing Connecticut river at Windsor fore place, the
house of John Dissell being on the west side and the Widow's house on the east side
of the river. Also a description of the most remarkable rivers, brooks, ponds, hills,
playes, swamps, situation of Indians discovered by the way with Lat. of
Springfield, 42 deg 8 minutes, and the trading house of Oronoko, the 14 of
ye 4th mo. 1642.

The miles are as 60 is to 64 1/2 in proportion
to the ordinary of ayre miles, containing
320 rods or 8 furlongs.

By Nath Woodman
Solomon Taffes

A hilly country

face of Charles river

After the settlement of this boundary line this town continued her political and business relations with Massachusetts as formerly, for a period of over thirty years, sent her representatives to that court, and paid her proportion of the expenses of the government of that province.

During this period, and before, from the time of its first settlement, the progress of Woodstock was continuous and substantial, but there was no remarkable incident in her history beyond the ordinary affairs of a town, until the inhabitants of the west part of its territory applied to be made a separate town or precinct.

The first movement for this object was a request to the town in this behalf in 1741, when it was ascertained that the popular voice of the inhabitants was against any division. The west part still persisted, by a petition to the General Court of Massachusetts in 1742, to be set off as aforesaid, but were at this time unsuccessful; but, on the 14th of September, 1743, the Legislature of Massachusetts incorporated the west part as a separate precinct, by the name of "The West Parish of Woodstock."

A division line was run and established between the east and west part the 19th of October of the same year by Captain John May, Jabez Lyon, and Lieut. Daniel Payne, with the aid of Captain William Chandler as surveyor.

This time approaches nearly to the period when the people of Woodstock began to think of withdrawing their connection from the province of Massachusetts, and placing themselves under the jurisdiction of Connecticut.

It has been asserted as a reason for this desire to change their colonial jurisdiction, the excess of taxation in the province of Massachusetts at this time over that of Connecticut.

It is true that Massachusetts had been the most active in repelling French and Indian aggressions, and had incurred a large debt as the result. In the noted expedition against

Cape Breton, and the capture of the strong fortress of Louisburg, June 16, 1745, that province was the principal actor. By the judicious plans of Governor Shirley, executed principally by Massachusetts troops, under command of General, afterwards Sir William Pepperell, this was accomplished; the result was the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748.

Yet while this province gained much renown for the heroism of her troops, her debt was greatly increased, and much more burdensome than that of Connecticut. Of this fact Woodstock, as well as the frugal farmers of Enfield and Suffield, were not ignorant.

And furthermore, at this time, there was no immediate expectation of relief, by a discharge of the heavy debt thus incurred by its just assumption by Great Britain.*

Under this state of things, in the year 1747, Woodstock,

* An agent for Massachusetts, William Bollan, was at this time in England soliciting the reimbursement of her large expenditure in this expedition. Mr. Bollan was, by birth, an Englishman, and came to New England in 1740; he was an eminent lawyer. He married the daughter of Governor Shirley in 1743, who died at the age of twenty-five years. He was sent as agent for the province to England in 1745, and had been there two years; and by this delay it began to be regarded as doubtful whether Massachusetts would be reimbursed for the money thus expended. Her bills of credit, in consequence of this delay, were seriously affected in their value.

The former value of an ounce of silver was six shillings and ten and a half pence, and these bills were now so much depreciated in value that it required sixty shillings to purchase an ounce. It required eleven shillings in this depreciated currency, in 1747, to buy one shilling of English exchange. But Mr. Bollan succeeded in obtaining a bill for the entire amount of this expenditure: £183,649 2s., 7½d.. He arrived in Boston, September 19, 1748, with 653,000 ounces of silver, and ten tons of copper, about the specie value of \$800,000. The currency debt at this time of depreciated bills of credit was about £2,100,000 lawful currency, which, at \$3,333 per pound, is \$6,999,300; about \$7,000,000.

The question now arose as to the application of this specie; the currency debt of the colony was now about £2,100,000, and by allowing this entire specie to be applied—£1,980,000, at its currency value—left but a small balance—£120,000—of this depreciated money. The Legislature finally passed an act for this purpose, which was approved by the governor. This bill also included an act for the purchase of the balance of this currency as above, to be paid during the year 1749. For the future it was established that English bullion should be received for the payment of debts at six shillings and eight pence the ounce, and milled dollars at six shillings each.

This operation in finance paid off all the indebtedness of the province, and relieved the people from this depreciated currency. And it was further enacted that the bills of credit of the other New England colonies should not be received in payment in the business transactions of the province, thus bringing back the trade of Massachusetts to a specie basis. There was great opposition at first to reducing the currency to specie; many prophesied ruin and bankruptcy in business; but it had the contrary effect: business revived, and all were pleased with the result.

with the two other towns before named, began to consult together and to make efforts for their reception into the colony of Connecticut, and under the government which that colony's charter and laws afforded.

It has been represented by Rev. Benjamin Trumbull, in his "History of Connecticut," "that the three towns here referred to and affected, as has been stated, by the line of 1713, were opposed to the arrangement which left them in Massachusetts as they previously had been, and that they had always continued to be dissatisfied with this arrangement, and it was a matter of great grievance to their inhabitants that they were so left in that colony, and this feeling continued until Connecticut received and assumed government over them, and they were admitted to the civil and religious liberty of the other inhabitants of this colony."

Mr. Hollister, in his more recent history, has repeated the same idea. He says:

"They were determined to throw off their allegiance to a government to which they had been annexed without their consent."

But, on the other side, there is the statement of Governor Hutchinson, as given in his papers, published in the third volume of his "History of Massachusetts," from manuscripts, by his grandson in 1828, as follows:

"The inhabitants of these towns thought themselves happy under the government of Massachusetts, until they felt a greater proportion of burden from charges of the war, than they would have done under Connecticut."*

Massachusetts continued to tax these towns their proportion of the expense of the provincial government, but it does

* See Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, vol. II, pp. 363 to 396, giving an account of the Spanish and French war, and expedition and capture of Cape Breton; also, the reimbursement, etc.; also see Hutchinson, vol. III, pp. 6, 7, and 8.

See Trumbull's History of Connecticut, vol. II, chap. 10; and, see Hollister's History of Connecticut, vol. II, p. 463.

not appear that they ever paid any of such assessments. This tax was probably more for the assertion of a right than for enforcing the amount of such tax. It is true that Massachusetts was much the most populous and powerful province—not only in New England, but among all the English colonies then in America—and continued so until some time after the war of the Revolution; but at this time the English government manifested much jealousy of her exhibition of power and the spirit of republicanism that submitted to no encroachment upon her rights. She was pressing her claim for indemnity for the expense of the Cape Breton expedition, and her spirit of forbearance at this time was, probably, somewhat caused by a recent decision against her by the English crown, in relation to her north boundary line, for which she felt much aggrieved and disappointed.*

Also, a commission had recently decided adversely to her

*The several colonies that were expected to furnish quotas of troops for the expedition to Cape Breton fell much short of the number required, except Massachusetts. The number of men the several colonies voted to furnish were as follows:

Massachusetts voted,	3,500 men;	furnished,	3,250 men.
New Hampshire “	500 “	“	304 “
Connecticut “	1,000 “	“	516 “
<hr/>			
			4,070
Rhode Island voted,	300 men;	sent this number too late,	300 men.
New York “	1,600 “	furnished ten field cannon,	no men.
New Jersey “	500 “	“	nothing.
Maryland “	300 “	“	“
Virginia “	105 “	“	“
Pennsylvania “	400 “	“	“

In addition to the 4,070 men furnished, mostly by Massachusetts, there were furnished twelve small armed vessels. Of the three largest, two carried twenty guns each, and one twenty-four guns. They were commanded by Captain Edward Tyng, who made the heaviest armed vessel the flag-ship.

Commodore Sir Peter Warren, commander of the English naval force in America, declined his aid in this expedition at first, having no special orders from his government; but having been ordered afterward, did join with it. The principal credit for the success of this enterprise is due to General Sir William Pepperell, Governor Shirley, and the Massachusetts forces. See Hutchinson, vol. II, pp. 364-396; also Minot's *Massachusetts*, vol. I, pp. 73-83; and vol. I, *Mass. Hist. Collections*, 1st series, pp. 5-60; and Bancroft's *History of United States*, vol. III, pp. 457-463.

See Belknap's *New Hampshire*, vol. II, pp. 101-103. Massachusetts did not obtain near so favorable a line against New Hampshire as that colony had previously offered to her. This decision was March 5, 1740.

claim for her boundary line against Rhode Island.* She, no doubt, felt humiliated by these adverse decisions, and did not feel quite safe in pressing any disputed question at this time.

The smaller colonies of New England were not ignorant of this state of things, and were disposed to take advantage, by attempting to press all points against her, as by her superior power she had before been accustomed to assert her rights and claims somewhat arbitrarily against them.

The first town meeting held in Woodstock for effecting this change of jurisdiction was May 7, 1747, at which time Colonel Thomas Chandler and Henry Bowen were appointed to take charge of the business.

Another meeting was called on the 8th of June following, to hear the report of their committee. It appears that the towns of Enfield and Suffield were acting jointly in this matter, and the committees from the three towns co-operated in their efforts. On the 16th of June following another meeting was held, when Colonel Chandler was continued as their agent in this affair.

A joint memorial was now framed by the agents from these three towns, and presented to the General Assembly of Connecticut, the substance of which was as follows :

“That they had, without their consent or ever having been consulted in the matter, been put under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts; that, as they were within the limits of the royal charter of Connecticut, they had a just and legal right to the government and privileges which it conferred, and that they were deprived of their rights by that charter; that the Legislature had no right to put them under another government, but that the charter required that the same protection, government, and privileges should be extended to them which were enjoyed by the other inhabitants of the colony. For these reasons they prayed to be taken under the colony of Connecticut, and to be admitted to the liberty and privileges of its other inhabitants.”

* See S. G. Arnold's *History of Rhode Island*, vol. II, pp. 130-134. Again Massachusetts lost several towns she had claimed as a part of Plymouth colony, granted to her by the charter of William and Mary. This decision was in June, 1741.

Also, see Hutchinson's *Massachusetts*, vol. II, pp. 342-348. Here the facts in these cases are stated, no doubt very impartially.

The Legislature admitted the principle set forth in the petition from these towns, and favored the request; and to effect this object appointed a committee to unite with a similar committee to be appointed by Massachusetts, if that province agreed to this mode of adjustment.

This committee was Jonathan Trumbull, John Bulkley, Benjamin Hall, and Captain Roger Wolcott.

The province of Massachusetts declined to accept the mode of adjustment proposed by Connecticut at this time, regarding the former adjustment of 1713, as conclusive. They considered these three towns, by the agreement of 1713, as towns of that province, and that there was no question about the matter to settle, and nothing for commissioners to do in the matter of jurisdiction.

Again, in May, 1749, the Assembly of Connecticut, with a view to an examination of the correctness of line of 1713, to be certain of the true location of these towns, as to the charter limits of the two colonies, appointed Jonathan Trumbull, John Bulkley, Elisha Williams, and Joseph Fowler, Esq., to join like commissioners from the government of Massachusetts to ascertain and fix the line; but should Massachusetts not agree or refuse to appoint commissioners, that then the matter should be referred to their agent in London, with the direction to lay the case before his majesty, and pray that he would appoint commissioners for fixing this line.

The Assembly of Connecticut in October, 1752, passed a resolve for accepting these three towns, Woodstock, Suffield, and Enfield, and also the town of Somers, which had been taken from Enfield in 1726, and called "East Enfield," and by an act of the General Court of Massachusetts, in 1734, incorporated as the town of Somers.

This colony now regarded these four towns as a part of their territory, and were determined to hold them, as a right, by the limits of their charter.

Under this state of the matter, Connecticut proposed joint commissioners to run the boundary line ; but in this proposal they had no respect to the settlement of 1713, or the equivalent she had received in lands for the territory in these towns that was south of the said line.

The proposal in this form Massachusetts rejected, but, instead of their proposition, made an offer to treat upon ways and means in general for preventing a controversy between the two governments.

This course did not answer the purpose of Connecticut : she acknowledged the receipt of the equivalent, but urged that the inhabitants had an inalienable right to the jurisdiction of Connecticut, by charter, which the Legislature of Connecticut could not take from them, and which the act of the inhabitants in 1713 could not take from the inhabitants of 1749. Upon this pretense Connecticut supported its claim, and kept her jurisdiction over these towns.

Mr. Hutchinson remarks that,

“ It would at least have been decent in the Connecticut Assembly to offer to return the equivalent which their predecessors had received.”

The Assembly of Connecticut further resolved,

“ That, as it did not appear that even the agreement between the colony of Connecticut and the province of Massachusetts for establishing the boundary line of 1713 between these colonies had received the ratification of his majesty, so it never ought to receive the royal confirmation : and that as the respective governments could not give up, exchange, or alter their jurisdictions, so the said agreement of 1713, so far as it respects jurisdiction, is void ; and therefore this assembly do declare that all the said inhabitants who live south of the line fixed by the Massachusetts charter are within, and have a right to the privileges of this government, the aforesaid agreement notwithstanding.”*

* See Trumbull's Connecticut, vol. II, pp. 295-298 ; also see Hutchinson's Massachusetts, vol. III, pp. 6-8 ; likewise see Hollister's Connecticut, vol. II, pp. 463-464 ; also, the Colonial Records of Connecticut and Massachusetts, referring to the adjustment of this boundary line. Something respecting the settlement and controversy about this line will be given in another place. See Trumbull's Connecticut, vol. II, 296.

Both colonies applied to the crown to sustain their construction of right in this unhappy affair between them; but this last occurrence happened about the time of the breaking out of the last great French and English war in America, and immediately following the close of this war came those acts of the English Parliament for taxing the American colonies, which brought on the war of the Revolution. The absorbing interest which these greater objects demanded put aside this smaller concern, and these towns, having remained under the jurisdiction of Connecticut for over thirty years, when the Revolutionary war closed in 1783, it was no doubt deemed best by all parties concerned to suffer that matter to rest free from further disturbance. It does not appear that there ever was a hearing on the question of this boundary line before his majesty's council; and the subsequent independence of these colonies and separation from the crown of England closed forever (and not to be regretted) that right of appeal.

The territory of Woodstock, when the grant was made in 1683; was within the limits of Suffolk county, in Massachusetts, but, in the formation of the county of Worcester in 1731, it became part of that county; and now, after being accepted under the jurisdiction of Connecticut, she had new associations to form to enter upon her career as a town of that colony.

It now became necessary to conform to the laws and customs of Connecticut. To secure what is called the rights of freemen, it was necessary to conform to a law of that colony enacted for that purpose.

To do this, a town meeting was called, September 12, 1749, at which time was read publicly the law of the colony relating to freemen and the freeman's oath, by order of Andrew Durkey and Ebenezer Payne, constables of the town.

The names of the voters were then called and registered,

as they had administered to them the freeman's oath, by James Buckwell, Esq., as follows :

John May,	Abram Perrin,	Caleb Lyon,
Isaac Johnson,	Andrew Durkey,	Edward Ainsworth,
Joseph Peak,	Nathan Abbot,	John Goodall,
Thomas Fox,	Edward Morris,	Nathaniel Sanger,
Ebenezer Payne,	John Child,	Joseph Wright,
Joseph Williams,	Benjamin Bugbee,	Thomas Ormsbee,
Nathaniel Johnson,	Thomas Gould,	John Bishop,
Benjamin Frissell,	Ebenezer Corbin,	Jacob Marscruff,
Jedediah Morse,	Henry Child,	James Ledwidth,
Ephraim Manning,	John Hutchins,	William Child,
Joseph Abbot,	John Chaffee,	Nehemiah May,
Silas Bowen,	Nehemiah Lyon,	Benjamin Roth,
Ebenezer Phillips,	Stephen May,	Jacob Child,
Joseph Chaffee,	Nathaniel Child,	John Peak,
David Child,	Jesse Bugbee,	David Bishop,
Timothy Hyde,	Joseph Marcy,	Ephraim Hutchins,
Thomas Bacon, Jr.,	David Holmes,	John Chamberlain,
Samuel Davis,	Jacob Lyon,	Pennel Bowen,
Caleb May,	William Chapman,	Isaac Williams,
Jonathan Hammond,	Samuel Child,	Samuel Harding,
Ebenezer Smith, Jun.,	Thomas Child,	Ezra Perrin,
Benjamin Child,	Richard Flynn,	James Chaffee,
Ebenezer Smith,	Amos Morse,	James Marcy.

At the same meeting Henry Bowen and Colonel Thomas Chandler were elected to represent the town in the General Assembly of Connecticut, which was to be holden at New Haven. This was the first representation of Woodstock in the General Assembly of that colony. Woodstock was now completely annexed, and became part of Windham county.

In establishing the boundary line, as before stated, in 1713, a portion of the northern part of this town remained north of this line, within the limits of Massachusetts. This tract of her territory ran the whole extent of her north line, seven miles in length, as it is about half a mile in breadth, its contents being nearly 3,000 acres. So long as this town abided by the agreement for establishing this line, and re-

mained in the province of Massachusetts, she retained all her original territory, whether north or south of said line ; but in seceding from that colony and uniting with Connecticut, on the plea that her territory and jurisdiction belonged to the colony in the limits of whose charter it was located, it followed, of course, that she could not take with her that portion of her original grant which fell north of said line.

During the interval of time between the running of this boundary line in 1713, and the seceding of Woodstock in 1749, Massachusetts had granted the territory bordering on her north line for other towns: Dudley in 1731, and Sturbridge in 1729 (but not incorporated until 1738); thus the south bounds of these two towns being fixed by their grants on that town, and the seceding of Woodstock having lost to her all that part of her territory north of the colony line, that land was not within the jurisdiction of any town, and became simply unappropriated province territory, yet within the limits of the county of Worcester. By its middle location between Woodstock on the south, and Dudley and Sturbridge on the north, it soon took the name of Middlesex.

This gore of land continued to be known as Middlesex, from 1749 to 1794, a period of about forty-five years ; when, by an act of the Legislature of Massachusetts, on the 25th of June of the latter year it was annexed to Dudley and Sturbridge ; so much as lay opposite their south lines was placed to each of these towns.

But when the town of Southbridge was incorporated in February, 1816, all that part of this gore which had been annexed to Sturbridge, 1,700 rods in length, or about five and one third miles long—more than two thirds of the land in said gore, and over 2,000 acres, which had formerly been a part of Woodstock—now became a part of Southbridge, and still continues a considerable part of her territory.

The foregoing sketch of history has briefly traced the pro-

gress of this town up to the time it became a part of Connecticut, which is as far as was the original design contemplated at the beginning of this work. But as other facts have come to the writer, connected both with its general and ecclesiastical affairs, it is deemed best to add them with a view to their preservation in this connection, but more particularly for their benefit of others who may desire to write a more connected and general history of this ancient and interesting town.

This town established for itself, through the activity of its citizens, a patriotic record during the French war, as well as in the great Revolutionary struggle for their liberty and independence.

While it is known that Woodstock was not excelled by any of the towns of New England, in the number of soldiers it furnished for both the wars above referred to, it is to be regretted that the names of these patriotic individuals did not find a place on its records. But it is believed that this neglect of preserving this roll of honored names is not an exception with this town, as it is a rare instance that the names of those who served in these wars are found anywhere recorded, except in the state departments of the several colonies, and then not by towns separately, but in companies and regiments, in which they served. The members of these companies and regiments are preserved in the adjutant-generals' departments of the several colonies.

The enlistments for the French war were made through a period of seven years, and those for the Revolution, eight years. They are to be found connected with many different companies, which formed parts of many regiments. To trace the names of these soldiers through these commands to the towns from which they enlisted, requires experience with the department records, and much time for research.

It is well known that soon after the breaking out of the French war, Israel Putnam, then a farmer of Pomfret, Con-

necticut, was commissioned by that colony, captain, early in in the year 1755.*

He was ordered to raise a company of men to join in a regiment with others from Connecticut, to form a command under Major-General Phineas Lyman. These, with some other New England troops and forces from New York, were to rendezvous on the Hudson river, at the head of boat navigation, at the great carrying place, or Fort Lydius,† as then known, where Major-General William Johnson was to be commander-in-chief, for an expedition, planned to move against Crown Point.‡

The chief notoriety of Captain Putnam, previous to this war, was his active pursuit, and tracing to her den at Pomfret, and killing a she-wolf, which had destroyed a large number of his sheep and goats.

His bold and adventurous spirit enabled him readily to en-

* Israel Putnam was born at Salem, Massachusetts, January 7, 1718; married a daughter of John Pope, of that town, for his first wife; removed to Pomfret about 1740, and engaged in farming. This wife died in 1664. His second wife was a Mrs. Gardiner, who died in 1777. He died at Brooklyn, Connecticut, May 19, 1790.

The opening of this war was brought about by a command under Colonel George Washington. "On the 27th of May, 1754, at the Great Meadows in the valley of the Kanawha, Washington, aided by the Mingo chiefs, made an attack upon a French force under the command of De Jumonville. Perceiving the French approach, '*Fire!*' said Washington, and, with his own musket, gave the example. That word of command kindled the world into a flame." It was the signal for wresting from France her dominion in America—a precursor of the war of the Revolution, and the freedom and independence of the English colonies from Great Britain.—See Bancroft.

† Fort Lydius took its name from John Henry Lydius, son of Rev. John Lydius, second minister of the Dutch Reformed church at Albany. He was born in 1693, and began his business career as an Indian trader; resided at Montreal from 1725 to 1730, and there married Genevieve Masse, of French and Indian lineage, called half-breed. For an interference against the Catholic religion, and carrying on some illicit trade with the English colonies, he was banished from the Canadas. He was a man of ability, and understood the French and English languages, and also could converse with the different tribes of Indians, which called him into constant requisition by the English on missions among the Iroquois and other Indian natives. Governor Skirley gave him a commission as colonel, and employed him as a spy for informing him of the movements of the French, and to negotiate for him among the Indians.

‡ This movement against Crown Point was part of a general movement against the encroachments of the French, arranged at a convention of the governors of the English colonies, which met at Alexandria, Virginia, April 14, 1755, General Edward Braddock presiding. Three expeditions were planned to move forward at the same time—one by General Braddock, against Fort Du Quesne; another by Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, against Fort Niagara; and a third by Major-General Johnson, as above.

list the complement of men desired for his command. These were his personal acquaintances in the towns of Pomfret and Woodstock, many from the latter town. This company was united with another, under command of Captain Robert Rogers, of Dunbarton, New Hampshire, and known as the Rangers, whose duty was to scout along the outposts and flanks of the enemy, and keep the commander-in-chief informed of their plans and movements.

The chief operations of these Rangers in the year 1755 were upon the middle ground between the contending forces, extending from Fort Lydius and the south end of Lake Saint Sacrament,* on the south, and Fort Carillon (since Ticonderoga), on the north, a distance of about thirty miles.

This range bordered along both sides of what is now known as Lake George† (a name given by Sir William Johnson), and on the east side of the mountain range which separates that lake from Lake Champlain and Wood creek.

On these routes the contending armies marched alternately to victory and defeat. Every rod of this pass-way has a history of its own, connected with deeds of daring and heroic adventure.

The only favorable result of the three expeditions by the English against the French in the year 1755 was the achievement by Major-General Johnson's command at Lake George. That by General Braddock was a sad disaster—a defeat and the loss of the commander-in-chief. The second, under Governor Shirley, was fruitless, except the repairs of some forts at Oswego and Lake Ontario. Soon after General Johnson arrived at Fort Lydius he planned the enlargement of that fort,

* This lake was called by the Mohawks, *Oujadarakte*; but, in 1646, it was named by the Jesuit priest, Father Isaac Jogues, "Lake Saint Sacrament." See Charlevoix's *History of New France*, translation, vol. II, pp. 15 and 186.

† "I am building a fort at this lake, where no house was ever before built, nor a rod of land cleared, which the French call Lake Saint Sacrament; but I have given it the name 'Lake George,' in honor of his majesty."—See Sir William Johnson's letter to the Board of Trade, September 3, 1755; *Documentary History of New York*, vol. II, p. 689.

and left this duty in charge of General Lyman and about 250 of the Connecticut troops, while he moved, on the 26th of August, for Lake George. On his arrival he commenced the erection of a fort for the protection of his supplies, and to secure a place for a safe retreat should it be necessary. General Lyman, having received re-enforcements, left the carrying place, which he now named "Fort Lyman," and joined General Johnson at Lake George, taking with him all the heavy artillery, arriving on the 3d of September.

On the evening of the 7th Johnson's scouts brought news of the near approach of the French and Indians in force, and plans were now made to meet them. About 1,000 men were sent forward in direction of Fort Lyman on the morning of the 8th, when, in about two hours, the battle commenced. Colonel Ephraim Williams and the great Mohawk chief who led this advance force fell early in the engagement, a general retreat followed, and soon they all returned to headquarters at the lake, and united with the army under the command of Johnson.*

A general action now ensued, that continued about four hours. The French and their Indian allies were defeated. Baron Dieskau, their commander, being severely wounded, fell into the hands of the English. With the loss of their principal officers, the French withdrew, and continued their retreat to Fort St. Frederick and to Canada, which closed this campaign on their part.

The chief commander of provincials (this force being exclusively from New England and New York), Major-General Johnson,† being severely wounded at the commencement of

* See Documentary History of New York, vol. II, p. 691.

† Sir William Johnson, born in the year 1715, in Ireland, came to America in 1735, to manage an estate of Admiral Sir Peter Warren, his uncle, and settled in the Mohawk country. He married a German girl, Catherine Wisenberg, about 1740. His house was located on the south side of the Mohawk river, and known as "Mount Johnson," about twenty-four miles west of Schenectady. His wife died young, leaving three children. He

the general action, retired to his camp, and gave the command to Major-General Lyman, who conducted the several attacks with great skill and bravery, but was scarcely mentioned by the chief commander in his report of this victory.

General Lyman was anxious to pursue the defeated army, but was not permitted by Johnson. But the Rangers, under the command of Captains Putnam and Rogers, continued active, and picked off the enemies' stragglers, even under the range of their guns of Crown Point, then known as St. Frederick.

The chief loss among the officers of the provincials was that of Colonel Ephraim Williams,* who had been distinguished for his valor and activity in defending the north-western frontier of Massachusetts against the incursions of the French and Indians during the previous French war.

General Johnson continued for some time after this engagement at the head of this lake, but performed little service, except to build the fort since known as "Fort William Henry,"† and preparing a way back to the great carrying-place, a distance of about fourteen miles, and finishing the fort erected there by General Lyman, which received afterwards the name of "Fort Edward."

This French war, which continued seven years, took from

subsequently took to his house Molly Brant, an Indian girl; they were never married, but he had eight children by her. He, by appointment of the English government, was general Indian agent with the Mowhawk tribes. Died, July 11, 1774.

* Ephraim Williams, born at Newton, Massachusetts, in 1715; killed at the battle of Lake George, September 8, 1755. While at Albany, on his way to join this expedition, he executed his will, leaving a residuary bequest in lands, and some notes and bonds, to be applied to the support of a free school in a township west of Fort Massachusetts. The result gave his name to a town now Williamstown, and the establishing there, in 1793, Williams college.

† Fort William Henry was named in honor of William Henry, Duke of Gloucester, son of Frederick Lewis, Prince of Wales, and grandson of George II. Fort Edward received its name in honor of Edward Augustus, Duke of York, and brother of William Henry, above. This point was regarded as of great strategic importance; a fort was first erected here in 1709 by General Francis Nicholson, and about the year 1740 it was known as the fortified house of Lydius, and then, having been strengthened by General Lyman in 1755, was called for a time Fort Lyman.

France all her extensive colonial dominion on the continent of North America ; and freed the frontier settlements of the English colonies from the long-continued depredations of the numerous northern Indians, who had been controlled mostly by the French and the more wily enemies of the English Protestants, the Jesuit priests.

This war, however, was but a school for provincial officers for learning the tactics and strategy of military science ; and many officers, like Israel Putnam, who had served through this war, were well prepared to unite in the greater struggle of the Revolution, which was to relieve these colonies from the oppressions of the mother country. They watched vigilantly the series of encroachments of the English government, and, as the crisis came, were inspired with a patriotic devotion to the cause of liberty, which led them at once to yield to their country's call, and unite in the fearful strife.

Woodstock having furnished her full share of men for the last French war, was ready to yield to the more severe demands of the Revolution. The records of the town and religious society exhibit several patriotic resolutions favoring this cause.

As was usual in this exciting time, a committee of correspondence and safety was appointed in 1774, to keep up a knowledge of the acts of the General and Colonial governments, as also that of the neighboring towns.

The following are the names of those appointed for said committee : Captain Elisha Child, Charles C. Chandler, Jedediah Morse, Captain Samuel McClellan, and Nathaniel Child. On the news of the battle of Lexington, six military companies marched from Woodstock to Boston, viz. : Captain Benjamin Lyon, with thirty-five men ; Captain Ephraim Manning, with twenty-two men ; Lieutenant Mark Elwell, with twenty-two men ; Captain Samuel McClellan, with forty-five cavalrymen, with horses ; Captain Daniel Lyon, with twenty-seven

men; and Captain Nathaniel Marcy, with thirty-eight men; a total of 189. The money paid to Woodstock for troops furnished on this occasion was £352 13s. 5d., being a larger sum than was paid any other town in Connecticut, except to the town of Windham. It was represented by Colonel Gaylord, of Ashford, in a letter to Captain William Lyon, that the troops furnished by Woodstock on this occasion, which marched to the relief of Boston, exceeded the number sent from any other town in the State.

The seventh company in the regiment, commanded by General Israel Putnam in the battle of Bunker Hill, were men from Woodstock, and quite probably some of the men who had followed his fortunes through the French war. The officers were: captain, Ephraim Manning; first lieutenant, Stephen Lyon; second lieutenant, Asa Morris; and ensign, William Frizell.

William Lyon was one of the soldiers that served in the French war, and entered the service at the beginning of the Revolution. He served for a time as lieutenant in Captain Manning's company while at Cambridge, and continued through the war, part of the time commanding a company of cavalry in the regiment of Colonel Samuel McClellan.

Captain Stephen Lyon followed Washington from Cambridge, with his company to Long Island, and thence in the retreat to Fort Washington and White Plains. His officers were Josiah Child, first lieutenant; John Kimball, second lieutenant; and Richard Peabody, ensign.

Captain William Manning served six years in this war, without returning home. His commission was signed by John Hancock. He was another who had served in the French war.

Colonel Samuel McClellan had been an officer in the French war and entered the service of the Revolution as captain and rose to a colonel, and continued through the greater part of the war. He was with his regiment in the army at Rhode

Island, and followed Washington through New York and on the heights of Hudson river. It is represented that when the government failed to pay his men he advanced from his own estate for the relief of his soldiers, £1,000.

Another Connecticut regiment was commanded by Colonel Thomas Chandler of Woodstock. Dr. David Holmes of this town was surgeon, and died in the service. Asa Lyon served the entire war as lieutenant. Jabez and John Fox, and also Samuel Perry, served in the war.

The foregoing names are but a part of the roll of honor that stands to the credit of the town of Woodstock. Several of these officers became distinguished for their soldierly qualities and bravery, and there has no record been found to detract from the good character of either officers or soldiers. It is much to be regretted that the names of all who served are not recorded, that posterity may know who were ready in this cause of liberty to sacrifice themselves for the good of their country.

But let it ever be remembered that the result of all this sacrifice of time, treasure, military effort, and numerous valuable lives, was the confirmation of that declaration of independence, made July 4, 1776, which separated the thirteen English colonies in America from the government of Great Britain, and formed the government of the United States of America, which now, after a period of about one century of its existence, stands as one of the most powerful, most honored, and prosperous of any known land ; while the rights and privileges conferred upon its inhabitants are more liberal and more extensive and as well secured by law as in that of any other government in existence.

That memorable day, the 4th of July, 1776, the most glorious of all the holidays set apart for honor or amusement, was appropriately referred to by Daniel Webster in his remarkable discourse, delivered in Faneuil Hall, Boston, on the

2d of August, 1826, in commemoration of the lives and services of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson. Mr. Adams was supposed to say :

“Through the thick gloom of the present I see the brightness of the future as the sun in Heaven. We shall make this a glorious, an immortal day. When we are in our graves our children will honor it; they will celebrate it with thanksgiving, with festivity, with bonfires, and illuminations. On the annual return they will shed tears, copious, gushing tears, but of exultation, of gratitude, and of joy.”

Thus, as above expressed, that day has been celebrated, and has come down to the present time, with increased and increasing honor. And, as has been said by another,

“The most glorious of days is that of July 4, 1776; and the most enthusiastic, the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, October 19, 1781; the proudest, that of 1789, the first year under Washington as the first president under the constitution of the United States of America; the most dismal, that of 1861, the first year of the great Rebellion; the most impressive, that of 1865, in consequence of the suppression of the Rebellion, President Lincoln's assassination, and the capture of Jefferson Davis; and the grandest, that of 1870, witnessing the abolition of slavery in the Southern States, the Union restored, and equal, civil, and political rights established as a part of the supreme law of these United States.”

In conclusion, it will be appropriate here to refer to the celebration of the 4th of July in this ancient and staid old Puritan town in the year 1870—a day long to be remembered as one of rare interest to the people in this vicinity. Heretofore, when this day had been celebrated here, it was done by the gathering of a few townsmen and the inhabitants of this neighborhood without exciting anything more than the ordinary recollection of the return of the anniversary of our country's birthday; but this year, through the known energy of their townsman, Henry C. Bowen, Esq., the day was made one of unusual notoriety and interest.

Early in the season Mr. Bowen had visited the President of the United States, and by invitation, had induced him to visit

Woodstock, and unite with its people, and those of the vicinity, in celebrating the returning national anniversary at this place, on the hill of the old South Parish.

The President, General U. S. Grant, and other celebrities, came by way of Hartford, Providence, and Fishkill Railroad, through Willimantic to Plainfield, and thence on the Norwich and Worcester Railroad to Putnam, where carriages were in readiness to convey the guests to Woodstock. On the way from Hartford there was a continued scene of ovation at all the towns through which the train passed.

Accompanying the President were Governor Marshall Jewell, ex-Governor Hawley, and Representative Stout, of Connecticut, M. E. Bowen, E. H. Robinson, Generals Pleasanton and Woodford, Postmaster Whitaker, Baron Catacazy, Count Orloff, Calvin Day, J. R. Buck, Mr. Bromley, General Harlan, of Norwich; Mr. Church, ex-Lieutenant-Governor Avery, United States Marshal Carri, Mr. Goodlow, George M. Bartholomew, Professor Northup, the Superintendent of Public Schools of the State; Mr. Hubbard, Mr. and Mrs. Sayles, Mr. McManus, Superintendent of New London and Northern Railroad; Rowland Swift, David Gollop, and Rev. Henry Ward Beecher. The company increased as it passed each of the towns on the way.

At Windham Governor Jewell introduced the President to Governor Cleveland, who delivered the following address:

“Mr. President—As chairman of the general committee of reception, I have the honor of welcoming you and your distinguished suite within the border and to the hospitality of Windham county: a county in whose bosom rests the honored dust of Putnam, Lyon, and others who fought for a free government in the Revolution, and for its salvation and perpetuation in the late war of Rebellion; a county that has always been loyal to the democratic Puritan idea that spake in the Declaration of Independence and in the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution of our country. We recall with pleasure and pride the fact that, for nearly two hundred years, Connecticut was the home of your Puritan ancestors.

“The people are assembled on this glorious day by tens of thousands

to testify their gratitude to you, sir, for the inestimable services you have rendered your country. May God bless you, Mr. President, and grant you wisdom and grace to lead this great people on to a still larger liberty and a higher civilization. Again, on behalf of our citizens, we cordially welcome you and your friends to Windham county."

THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY.

The President replied :

"I feel under great obligations to the people of Connecticut and Windham county for the kind reception they have given me. I have met a warm welcome in my entire journey through the State, and I find also that Windham county is no exception. I thank you for the reception, and am glad to be among you."

Here Senator Buckingham, Mayor Blackstone, of Norwich, and a delegation from Windham county joined in an extra car that had been provided. Passing through Danielsonville, where the cars stopped for a moment to give the large gathering there a sight of the President, they then moved on to Putnam, where the company arrived at ten o'clock, carriages being in readiness to convey them about five miles to Woodstock. About fifteen carriages contained the President and his company, which were joined in a procession of great length by a vast number, making a very unusual exhibit in this quiet region.

The whole procession of carriages was escorted by a large cavalcade of citizens, headed by Gilmore's band, and the Third Regiment's band, of Norwich.

On arriving at South Woodstock, the Lyon Guards, drawn up for the purpose, saluted the President, and wheeled into column, taking the advance, when the whole moved on, under the direction of the chief marshal of the day and his assistants, through the village to the residence of H. C. Bowen. The road from Putnam to Woodstock, the line of the procession, was on both sides literally packed with men, women, and children, from the many towns, near and distant, in this region,

to witness this novel scene to the inhabitants of this inland district.

On the arrival at the Bowen mansion, salutes of cannon, tolling of bells, and music by the bands, opened the scene of festivities. The Lyon Guards were stationed on the lawn around these premises to keep the multitude from encroaching upon this, the quarters of the President and his suite, and the town's committee, with such distinguished guests as had been invited by the generous host, to do honor to the chief of the nation.

After adjusting their toilets, the President and suite appeared in the parlor of the mansion, and met the family and a few friends of Mr. Bowen then present, whom he presented, as follows: Mrs. H. C. Bowen, and three daughters, Mary, Grace, and Alice; Mr. and Mrs. H. E. Bowen, U. A. Bowen, E. H. Bowen, E. Bowen, Clarence Bowen, Mr. and Mrs. E. S. Barnes, Mr. and Mrs. Richardson, Professor and Mrs. Fiske, and daughter, Mr. Plumer, and G. C. Holt.

The grounds around this mansion, and the park opposite, shaded with fine trees, were simply, but elegantly decorated. Along the shaded carriage-way, between the grounds of the mansion and park, were posted numerous streamers, each containing the name of one of the States of the National Union. And a number of flags were also posted about the lawn, each bearing the name of one of the distinguished generals of the late war of Rebellion. After a brief time spent by the President and party in conversation with the family of Mr. Bowen, he and a few select friends were invited to partake of a richly prepared lunch. Among these were the following that took seats at the table: The President; on his right, Mr. Catacazy; on his left, Henry Ward Beecher, ex-Lieutenant Governor Stewart S. Woodford; and the other seats had General Pleasanton, Mayor Blackstone, and J. T. Norton, of Norwich; Lieutenant-Governor Averill, Mr. Bartell, of Providence;

Governor Jewell, Governor Hawley, General Porter, Secretary of the President; Governor Buckingham, and Count Orloff.

At one o'clock the Lyons Guard, with music, escorted the town committee, the general committee, and distinguished guests, to the speakers' stand on the common. Here an immense temporary structure had been erected with back-ground of tiers of seats; here the President, and many distinguished individuals before named, and others, took seats.

Cheer upon cheer was given as these persons took their places on the platform, the President and principal speakers, and his suite in front.

After this company were seated, Senator Buckingham introduced the chief magistrate of the nation to the multitude that covered the grounds, tens of thousands in number, who enthusiastically received him with cheers.

Then, after music by the bands, the Declaration of Independence was read, and Mr. Buckingham, with a few brief remarks, introduced ex-Governor Woodford, who, according to the programme, delivered the principal oration, which was able and patriotic, but too lengthy for insertion here.

After the oration was delivered, Mr. Cleveland read the following resolutions:

“The citizens of Windham county, assembled at Woodstock, on the ninety-fourth anniversary of the nation's independence, make this renewed declaration of their political sentiments.

“*First.* We believe that all men are created equal, endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

“*Second.* We reflect with profound gratitude to Almighty God upon the marvelous progress of our beloved country, upon its increase from 3,000,000 to 40,000,000; upon its vast expanse of territory; upon its growth in wealth, invention, art, science, education, and religion; upon its success and glory in war, and its greater love of peace, and upon its promise of a yet more glorious future, as the most populous and powerful of civilized nations, leading the way towards the perfection of social, political, and religious happiness.

“*Third.* We rejoice and give thanks for the nation’s salvation from the prolonged and awful danger of the great Rebellion; for the emancipation of 4,000,000 slaves; for their elevation to full citizenship; for that crowning amendment to the national charter, whereby the Declaration of Independence is made a living, universal reality; and for the growing spirit of harmony and fraternity throughout this land.

“*Fourth.* We heartily thank the President of the United States for coming to meet us here, and we hasten to assure him of our enthusiastic appreciation of his great services, as the glorious, successful leader of a million of the soldiers of liberty in the most momentous war in history. Ready to “fight it out on that line,” when war is needed; and we doubly honor the great warrior who gives the nation the watch-word, “Let us have peace.” Observing with cordial satisfaction the fidelity, economy, energy, pure patriotism, and statesmanship of his administration, we express full confidence in his continued and triumphant success.

“*Fifth.* The native county of Putnam and Lyon has had the great honor to lay its ready tribute of life and treasure upon the altars of liberty from Bunker Hill to the Appomatox. It has never measured its share, nor counted the cost when the country’s honor was in question. Remembering the sons who gave their lives that the nation might live, we here anew dedicate ourselves to the work they so nobly carried on. That from those honored dead we take increased devotion to the cause which they gave the last full measure of love of country; and we here highly resolve that the dead shall not have died in vain, and that the government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

“*Sixth.* That our sincere and heartfelt thanks are hereby tendered to Honorable Henry C. Bowen for his indefatigable labors and great liberality in preparing this magnificent demonstration, and for a long series of most thoughtful and public-spirited efforts to promote the social, educational, and religious interests of this town and county.”

The reading of these resolutions being concluded, the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher was introduced and made a characteristic speech, overflowing with both wisdom and humorous remarks, which caused a great outburst of cheers and good feeling. Then followed General Benjamin F. Butler, full of pith in most things spoken of. He touched upon the subject of foreign emigration, and spoke in favor of all classes, except the Chinese, which he deprecated, and thought some measures should be secured to protect the country and its labor from this class of immigrants, which he feared would be an evil.

After General Butler sat down Senator Buckingham introduced Governor Hawley, who alluded to the remarks of General Butler, disagreeing with him upon the idea of restricting any class of immigration. He said :

“I don't know how to go to work to lock the doors of the United States. We have done what we could, and stopped American slavery. I wish the Chinese had a better education in regard to American institutions. I wish they could bring with them a better religion; but I believe they all can read. With our flag over me, and the New Testament in my hand, I say, ‘Let them come.’” He wished they were in better condition; but he did not see how he could shut the gates against any down-trodden people who wished to flee to the protection of American institutions. He said he would occupy the few remaining moments in urging on his fellow-citizens the great importance of keeping open the gateway of the United States to the free access of all emigrating people.

He would ever guard our interests against the least approach to the slave trade; but could see no injury to any of our useful institutions in encouraging industrial emigration to our shores from every part of the earth. He would keep the gate open and the stream as pure as possible, and let it flow. We must counteract any evil that may threaten us by our living examples of good. We must impress a pure and undefiled religion on all who may come to us, and if any go back to their own lands they will carry to their neighbors the blessings of our free institutions. He would not dare to lock the inviting gates of America against a suffering world.

General Butler desired to reply, but the President's time forbade any continuance of the remarks beyond the appointed time for the departure of himself and his company; thus, as Governor Hawley closed, Mr. Bowen stepped forward and said that Mr. Gilmore would now, in honor of the Russian minister, perform with his band the “Russian Hymn.”

At the conclusion of this performance the Russian minister returned his thanks, and spoke of the friendship which had existed between Russia and the United States from the earliest history of this country :

“He hoped that friendship would be permanent. In saying this he expressed the feelings of 82,000,000 of Russians; and he hoped that that feeling would be reciprocated by 40,000,000 of Americans.”

The exercises closed with the singing of "America" by the entire audience, accompanied by Gilmore's band.

The presidential party then proceeded in carriages to Thompson Station on Norwich and Worcester Railroad, and took the cars for Norwich, where they were entertained by Senator Buckingham, who gave a reception to the President and his friends.

The following day the President proceeded on his way to his family at Long Branch.

This occasion, no doubt, produced the most memorable and exciting day ever witnessed in the history of this town. It was but an exhibit of what energy and enterprise, directed by skillful hands, can do through the efforts of one individual. This town has great cause to be thankful and proud of a native son who so ably and liberally sustains her best interests.

THE WOODSTOCK AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY.

This society was chartered by the State of Connecticut, on the 2d of July, 1861. The first preliminary steps for its formation, was a meeting held in the Baptist meeting-house, in South Woodstock, November 13, 1858, at one o'clock, P. M., when Ezra C. May was made chairman, and George A. Penniman, clerk. This meeting then elected a committee of six gentlemen, all of Woodstock, to frame a constitution and by-laws for the government of the society.

The society embraces all the towns in the county which are disposed to unite with this town, and conform to the regulations adopted by the same.

The first annual meeting was held January 4, 1859, when officers were elected as follows :

President—Ezra Dean, Esq.

Vice-President— { Chester Child, Wm. R. Arnold, J. F. Williams, Jr.,
E. S. Bugbee, and Albie Hiscox.

Corresponding Secretary—J. M. Lyon.

Recording Secretary—George A. Penniman.

Treasurer—S. M. Fenner.

Directors— { E. S. Penniman, George A. Paine, George C. Phillips,
Charles D. Smith, Abel Child, 2d; and Alexander
Warner.

The first fair was held in September, 1859, and the society has held a fair each year since. Their annual meetings for election of officers are held in December, besides which two or three executive committee meetings are held each year.

The society receives \$100 per annum from the State; the other necessary funds are raised by life, annual memberships, and by entrance fees.

The annual exhibitions are attended with increased numbers, and proves a successful aid to the great agricultural interest of the county, and a stimulus to many other industrial pursuits. It invites honorable competition, promotes the advantages of the best modes for the cultivation of the soil in producing crops, the breeding of cattle and other animals, and fosters many other branches of industry; it also does great good by introducing social habits among the people of the several towns connected therewith, increasing their general intelligence upon all questions pertaining to their various pursuits, which is always the most effective power in the accumulation of wealth—verifying the adage that “knowledge is power.” The assembling of numerous bodies of people together to compare and consult upon their mutual interests can not be too much encouraged or too highly commended.

WOODSTOCK ACADEMY.

THE CHARTER.

“At a General Assembly of the State of Connecticut in America, holden in Hartford, in said State, on the second Thursday of May, being the — day of said month and continued by adjournment from day to day until the in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and two.

“A resolve incorporating the proprietors of Woodstock Academy in Connecticut.

“Whereas, John McClellan, an agent appointed by the proprietors of Woodstock Academy, in Woodstock, has, by his petition in behalf of said proprietors, represented to this Assembly, that an act of incorpora-

tion would be of great use to said proprietors in the management of their joint property and other concerns therein,

“*Resolved* by this Assembly, That, Samuel McClellan, Eliphalet Lyman, Nehemiah Child, Ebenezer Smith, William Potter, Hezekiah Bugbee, Ichabod Marcy, Jesse Bolles, David Holmes and others, who are or hereafter may be proprietors of Woodstock Academy, so called, in Woodstock, be, and hereby are erected and made a body corporate by the name and title of the proprietors of Woodstock Academy, and by the name shall be and hereby are made capable in law, to have, purchase, receive, possess and enjoy to them and their successors real and personal estate of any kind and quality whatsoever, to the annual amount of \$3,000, and the same to sell, grant, or alien, to sue and be sued, to plead and be impleaded, defend and be defended, in all courts in this State; to have and use a common seal, and the same to break, alter, and renew at pleasure, and to ordain and carry into effect such by-laws and regulations as shall be deemed necessary or useful for the well ordering and governing of the affairs of said corporation, not repugnant to the laws of this State or to the constitution and laws of the United States; and for the government of said corporation, it is hereby

“*Resolved*, That there shall be five trustees annually appointed by the proprietors, which annual meeting shall be at such time as said proprietors shall appoint, which trustees shall have power, or a major part of them, to choose their chairman, to superintend the affairs of the corporation, and carry into effect all the by-laws and regulations of the proprietors.

“And it is further *Resolved*, That the first meeting of proprietors shall be called by any two of their number by giving a verbal or written notice to all the other proprietors of the time and place of meeting. And to constitute a quorum, twelve shares at least shall be represented; and the proprietors shall have power in their meetings to ordain and constitute any officers which may be deemed necessary for the well ordering of the concerns of the said Academy, and to require of the officers such security or annex such pecuniary penalties to a breach of trust, as they shall judge reasonable; and the proprietors are hereby empowered to make such rules and regulations concerning the mode of transferring shares by assignment or otherwise, and to enlarge the number of shares as they shall deem expedient; which rules and regulations shall be to all intents and purposes valid, and they are empowered to tax the several shares in said institution for the purpose of making repairs of the buildings or fences, or for furnishing books or apparatus for the institution, or for other necessary or useful purposes, as they shall judge for the benefit of the corporation; and the sums so assessed shall be collected by warrant and distress, in the manner that the taxes of this State may, by law, be collected.

“Provided, that this resolve or any part thereof may be altered, amended or repealed at the pleasure of the General Assembly.

AMENDMENT.

“General Assembly, May Session, 1868. Amending the charter of the proprietors of Woodstock Academy.

“*Resolved* by this Assembly, That the charter of the proprietors of Woodstock Academy, be and hereby is so amended as to allow an increase in the number of trustees of said Academy not to exceed thirteen in all, and that said trustees shall, upon being duly elected, continue in office until others are chosen to fill their places.

“APPROVED, July 24, 1868.”

ACADEMY BUILDINGS.

The first academy structure was erected in 1801, and is at the present time of writing standing where it was originally located, and by recent expenditures for repairs, is in a condition that gives evidence that it may continue a useful building for another period equal to that it has already passed through.

The new academy, now nearly finished, is much larger, and of far more imposing appearance. This was commenced in 1872, and will probably be completed and ready to receive the students from the old house by the beginning of the year 1874. Its dimensions are as follows: one hundred feet in length by sixty in depth. The front is south, and has two entrance halls, between which is the school-room, forty feet square. At the ends of the structure, beyond the halls, and opening out of them are four recitation-rooms, two on each side; and in the rear are three rooms, for library, laboratory, and reception. In the second story is a fine hall, supplied with a good stage, adapted for public exhibitions, having ante-rooms, wardrobes, etc.

In the third story are rooms for the teachers, and some for students. From the tower may be seen an extensive view of the country, scarcely equaled for landscape beauty by any other place.

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS TO ACADEMY BUILDING FUND.

N. T. Adams, - - -	\$100	Arthur Mathewson, - - -	\$10
Nathaniel Beach, - - -	25	Caleb Fenner, - - -	10
Davis Blackmar, - - -	25	A. P. Dennis, - - -	10
Henry C. Bowen, - - -	5,000	M. Phillips, - - -	100
Andrew W. Bowen, - - -	100	Ebenezer Bishop, - - -	10
Henry E. Bowen, - - -	200	O. E. Lombard, - - -	10
Jas. Bracken, - - -	10	Ezra C. Child, - - -	10
Lucius Briggs, - - -	100	N. E. Morse, - - -	15
David S. Brown, - - -	75	Nelson Morse, - - -	20
Wm. L. Buck, - - -	10	J. R. Davenport, - - -	20
George W. Buck, - - -	20	D. B. Plimpton, - - -	10
Jno. C. Buck, - - -	10	E. S. Lyon, - - -	10
Alexander Buck, - - -	50	T. A. Capwell, - - -	10
William Buxton, - - -	25	Chas. E. Searls, - - -	10
E. H. Bugbee, - - -	25	Ezra D. Carpenter, - - -	10
Luther D. Bugbee, - - -	25	Ashbury Nichols, - - -	10
S. C. Comings, - - -	100	Dutee Smith, - - -	10
A. A. Carroll, - - -	50	Perry & Brown, - - -	20
William D. Carroll, - - -	100	Sabin & Miller, - - -	50
G. W. Clark, - - -	25	T. P. Leonard & Co., - - -	25
Edwin K. Chamberlain, - - -	10	Ebenezer Barrett, - - -	15
Jas. A. Chandler, - - -	20	Mary A. Leavitt, - - -	10
J. F. Chandler, - - -	20	Geo. Chandler, - - -	25
Albert C. Chandler, - - -	25	Wm. H. Ward, - - -	20
William Chandler, - - -	100	Henry Elliott (N. Y.), - - -	25
Amasa Chandler, - - -	100	M. A. Phillips (N. Y.), - - -	25
Elisha Child, - - -	10	J. N. Chamberlain (N. Y.), - - -	50
Roxana L. Child, - - -	300	Henry C. Penniman, - - -	10
Abel Child, 2d, - - -	300	Henry Bennett, - - -	25
S. A. Child, - - -	10	Stone & Fenn, - - -	35
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F. W. Flynn, - - -	20	M. G. Leonard, - - -	10
Reuben S. Fitts, - - -	10	Hiram N. Brown, - - -	10
Amelia A. Fisk, - - -	200	Gilbert C. Robbins, - - -	25
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Joel Fuller, - - - 10	Pierpont Phillips, - - - 50
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Silas Newton, - - - 20	Geo. A. Spalding, - - - 50
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Robert Williams, - - - 50	Barney Carroll, - - - 10
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Martin Paine, - - - 10	Amelia A. Fisk, - - - 100
Catharine Arnold, - - - 10	Henry E. Bowen, - - - 100
Marcus Green, - - - 25	Henry A. Bowen, - - - 250
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Nathan Fisher, - - - 50	Nancy Swain, - - - 50
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Nathaniel H. Andrews, - - - 30	Eben. S. Crowningshield, - - - 30
Joseph F. Russell, - - - 30	Hezekiah Snow, - - - 10
Erastus Phillips, - - - 10	John Mehan, - - - 10
Patrick Reilly, - - - 10	Salmon Needham, - - - 10
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Jno. Sanger, - - - 10	Davis Blackmar, - - - 50
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Alfred M. Tabor, - - - 10	Abel Child, 2d, - - - 200
Chas. W. Lyon, - - - 10	William D. Carroll, - - - 100
Rufus S. Mathewson, - - - 100	F. W. Flynn, - - - 50
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Thos. D. Holmes, - - - - 100	Roxana L. Child, - - - - 200
Sarah T. Lyon, - - - - 100	William C. Kibbie, - - - - 250
Andrew W. Bowen, - - - - 100	William W. Mathewson, - - 100
Sarah J. Silliman, - - - - 100	Edwin W. Sanger, - - - - 50
Alden Southworth, - - - - 100	Henry S. Perry, - - - - 100
Geo. N. Lyman, - - - - 100	Willard C. May, - - - - 50
Benj. Sumner, - - - - 100	A. T. Barnes, N. Y., - - - 50
Wm. H. Weaver, - - - - 100	

These two subscription lists are to contain subscriptions to the amount of \$15,000 each—the one to build and complete the new structure for the academy, and the other for a supporting fund: Henry C. Bowen, Esq., contributing \$5,000 towards each, on condition the sums should be raised, but his subscription payable when \$10,000 on each should be subscribed, including his own subscription.

ECCELESIASTICAL.

CHAPTER III.

THE FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH.

THE first church in Woodstock was organized about the year 1690. There had been religious services, commencing with the arrival of the first planters, but no settled minister or church organization.

The Rev. Josiah Dwight was their first settled minister; the exact date of his settlement is not now known. The records of this church during the pastorate of Mr. Dwight are lost to the society. It is supposed that when he left the church he carried away with him these records, the covenant, and other papers belonging to this organization.

Furthermore, there is a deficiency in their later proceedings. Through some dissatisfaction among its members, a division of this church occurred in the year 1759; the party which withdrew took with them the remaining records to this date, organized a church at Muddy Brook the same year, and styled themselves "The First Congregational Church of Woodstock."

A similar occurrence took place in the Muddy Brook church, in the year 1831.

There arose some difficulty among its members concerning the location of a new meeting-house, when a part withdrew, who, imitating the example of their predecessors, laid hands

upon these records and formed a church at the village corners now known as North Woodstock, and who it is supposed now hold them in their possession.

The pastorate of Rev. Josiah Dwight continued with this people about thirty-seven years. Most of this long connection proved satisfactory, both to the pastor and the society, until near its close, when some unfortunate and unhappy affairs induced the pastor to ask for a dismissal. This request was granted by the church, September 27, 1726. A council was called, November 16, 1727, to hear the existing complaints. The allegations made by the church, were, rashness of speech, a want of meekness and patience, and furthermore, a habit of speculating in wild lands at Killingly; and, as further alleged, not without loss of his reputation for truth and veracity.

Mr. Dwight denied the allegations as to misrepresentation about the lands at Killingly, but confessed rashness, want of patience and meekness, under provocation.

It appeared furthermore, that Mr. Dwight had made some departure from the strict observance of church discipline, as established by the Cambridge platform, which was agreed upon by a general synod of the Congregational ministers of New England, in the year 1648.*

He was not alone at this time in the desire for a revision and more liberal construction of the plan of church government.

By the terms of the Cambridge platform, associations of ministers and churches in separate organizations were not recognized. No discussion relating to change of church discipline or organization of churches was permitted, except at the general assembly of all the churches.

At a council held at Boston in September, 1662, the form-

* See Mather's *Magnalia*, vol. II, p. 153. This synod was held at Cambridge, Massachusetts, September 30, 1648.

ing of separate associations of churches was favored. The old class of ministers opposed all innovations, and, being in majority, held strictly to the Cambridge platform.

The venerable Thomas Hooker,* the founder of Hartford, and a leading minister in the colony of Connecticut, did not favor fully the strict church government as had been conducted by the leading clergymen of Massachusetts. He favored the frequent assembling of neighboring ministers, and a plan of consociations. Had he lived at the time of holding the council in 1662, he would, no doubt, have opposed the strict government of the churches as established by the Cambridge platform.

A question arose in the General Assembly of Connecticut regarding greater latitude in the membership of churches and baptism.

In the year 1664, that court resolved,

“That understanding by a writing presented to them from several persons of this colony that they are aggrieved, that they are not entertained in church fellowship; this court, having duly considered the same, desiring that the rules of Christ may be attended, do commend it to the ministers and churches in this colony to consider whether it be not their duty to entertain all such persons who are of an honest and godly conversation, having a competency of knowledge in the principles of religion, and shall desire to join with them in church fellowship, by an explicit covenant; and that they have their children baptized; and that all the children of the church be accepted and accounted real members of the church; and that the church exercise a due Christian care and watch over them; and that when they are grown up, being examined by the officer in the presence of the church, it appear in the judgment of charity that they be duly qualified to participate in that great ordinance of the Lord’s Supper, by their being able to examine themselves and discern the Lord’s body, such persons be admitted to full communion.”†

* Rev. Thomas Hooker was born in Leicestershire, England, in 1586. He came to Boston, New England, 1633, was settled over the church at Cambridge the same year, and, with 100 others, removed, settled, and founded Hartford in 1636. He died, July 7, 1647, aged sixty-one years.

† See Trumbull’s Connecticut, vol. 1, chapter 13, p. 326.

The secretary of the colony was instructed to send a copy of this resolution to all the ministers and churches in the colony.

The majority of the churches were at this time opposed to what they called "The Half-Way Covenant."

"They imagined that such a latitude in baptism and admission of members to communion, would subvert the very design for which the churches of New England were planted. They required full communion; those only were admitted in most of the churches who made a public relation of their experience, by which they gave satisfaction to the church of their repentance, faith, and sincere friendship for the Redeemer."

"Great care and strictness was had in the examination of ministers who were to be ordained, their knowledge of the doctrinal points in theology was tested, and their ability to defend Christianity and its doctrines. They must give evidence of their spiritual birth. None were ordained or installed over any church until after they had been admitted to its full communion and fellowship."

Notwithstanding the firm ground here taken by a majority of the ministers, there was a growing tendency towards a more lax state of church discipline; and finally, in 1696, the principle which was attempted in 1664, by the General Assembly, which was called "The Owing of the Covenant," was now by some of the churches adopted.

This explicit covenant, as recommended by the Assembly, was, in substance, as follows :

"We do solemnly, in the presence of God and this congregation, avouch God in Jesus Christ, to be our God, one God in three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and that we are, by nature, children of wrath; and that our hope of mercy with God is only through the righteousness of Jesus Christ, apprehended by faith; and we do freely give up ourselves to the Lord, to walk in communion with him, in the ordinances appointed in his Holy Word, and to yield obedience to all his commandments and submit to his government; and whereas, to the great dishonor of God, scandal of religion, and hazard of the damnation of many souls, drunkenness and uncleanness are prevailing amongst us, we do solemnly engage before God this day, through his grace, faithfully and conscientiously to strive against these evils and the temptations leading thereunto."

This covenant differed in some respects in different churches ; in some churches the explicit covenant was to be subscribed and owned annually, especially by the younger members.

This mode of gaining church membership soon became quite common in the churches in Connecticut, and thus membership became more general and a large portion of the children were admitted to baptism.

The practice of requiring a relation of religious experience, and of requiring full communion, was continued in but few churches ; but where this was required the number of children that received baptism was small.

This was under a state of things which was the passing from the order of the old ministers, who were among the founders of the colony, to that of a new class of people, the former ministers having now passed away.

At the close of the seventeenth century the religious affairs of the colony were much disorganized, which led many of the most considerate ministers to attempt some general plan for reorganization of the churches under one uniform system of government, and also to provide, within the limits of the colony, a system of better education for the ministers who were to succeed to the head of the churches.

With this object in view, a movement was made in 1698 for founding a college in Connecticut, by Rev. James Pierpont, of New Haven, Rev. Samuel Andrews, of Milford, and Rev. Samuel Russell, of Branford. In 1699 ten of the principal ministers of the colony were agreed upon for a board of trustees. In 1700 these gentlemen met at New Haven, and formed themselves into a society, to consist of eleven ministers, including a rector or president. They had another meeting the same year at Branford, and there laid the foundation of Yale college.

This act was as follows : each of the trustees gave a number of books, which at the time they declared were for the

founding of a college. About forty books were thus given at this meeting for this object. The trustees took possession of these books, and appointed Rev. Samuel Russell, of Branford, the librarian.

Donations of money and books to considerable amounts soon came to the hands of these trustees, and in October, 1701, the General Assembly incorporated them, and granted a charter for the college, vesting them with all necessary privileges and powers for the government of the same.

At this time it was agreed that the college, for the present, should be located at Saybrook. The charter ordained that the corporators should consist of ministers only.

The plan of the college government was very formal and minute ; the design was to imitate the Protestant colleges of France.

To be under the supervision of the synod of the Connecticut churches, which was the condition of all the French Protestant collegiate institutions.

As it was the principal design of the college to promote the power and purity of religion, it became necessary now to establish a uniformity in the government and discipline of all the churches in the colony, and to require the religious exercises of the college and doctrinal faith to correspond. To do this, it was determined to adopt a platform of faith and discipline suitable for promoting the designed object of the college.

To effect this object, the General Assembly of May, 1708, passed an act requiring the ministers and churches to meet and form an ecclesiastical constitution. This act required the ministers in each county to assemble and choose two or more of their number to meet in convention at Saybrook, in September of that year, and there to agree upon a form of ecclesiastical discipline, to be offered by them to the General Assembly at their session at New Haven, in October following, to be considered of and confirmed by them.

This convention having met and considered the subject referred to them, made report in manner following :

“ In compliance with an order of the General Assembly, May 13, 1708, after humble addresses to the throne of grace for divine presence, assistance, and blessing upon us, having our eyes upon the word of God and the constitution of our churches, we agree that the confession of faith owned and assented unto by the elders and messengers assembled at Boston, in New England, May 12, 1680, being the second session of that synod, be recommended to the honorable General Assembly of this colony at the next session for their public testimony thereunto, as the faith of the churches of this colony.”*

Then follows the heads of agreement and platform of church government embraced in fifteen articles, which took the name of “ Saybrook Platform ” from having been framed and agreed upon by the ministers assembled at that place, on the 9th of September, 1708.

The confirmation of the General Court held at New Haven, October, 1708, was in the words following :

“ The reverend ministers, delegates from the elders and messengers of this government, met at Saybrook, September 9, 1708, having presented to this assembly a confession of faith, and heads of agreement, and regulations in the administration of church discipline, as unanimously agreed and consented to by the elders and churches in this government,—this assembly doth declare their great approbation of such a happy agreement, and do ordain that all the churches within this government that are or shall be thus united in doctrine, worship, and discipline, be and for the future shall be owned, acknowledged, and established by law ; provided, always, that nothing herein shall be intended or construed to hinder or prevent any society or church that is or shall be allowed by the laws of this government, who soberly differ or dissent from the united churches hereby established, from exercising worship and discipline in their own way according to their conscience.”

Notwithstanding the Savoy confession was adopted as the faith of the Connecticut churches, yet, by adopting the heads of agreement, with respect to soundness of judgment in

* This was the Savoy Confession, with some small alteration. See Trumbull's Connecticut, vol. i, p. 509.

matters of faith, it was sufficient that a church acknowledge the Scripture to be the Word of God, the perfect and only rule of faith and practice, and own either the doctrinal part of those commonly called the articles of the church of England, or the confession or catechisms, shorter or longer, compiled by the assembly at Westminster, in the year 1643 (being a revision of the articles of the church of England by a united body of the Protestant ministers of that country, Presbyterian, Congregational, and Episcopal; a result of the overthrow of the government of Charles I, and the rigid government of the English church, by the Revolution of 1640), or the confessions agreed on at Savoy, to be agreeable to the said rule.

The corporation, having now obtained a confession of faith adopted by the churches and legislature of the colony, now adopted it for the college, and the trustees and officers, upon their induction into office, were required to give their assent to it and to the Westminster confession* and catechisms.

Such was the state of religious affairs at this time in New England; there was far more reliance placed upon the dogmas of theology then than at the present time.

Dogmatical controversy was carried on with far greater bitterness of feeling, and questions in theology were more frequently discussed in the pulpit.

This was a transition period from severe Puritanism to modern religious freedom. Dogmatic rules and regulations began to be regarded as less important, and a higher regard was placed upon individual opinion and rights; the result of which is the entire freedom of religious opinion and worship, of the present day.

The people of Woodstock, when their first church was

* See Neal's Puritans, vol. II, Appendix No. VII and No. VIII. Also, see Neal's, vol. I, chap. II, pp. 457-463; the assembly of divines at Westminster, and their action in forming the Westminster confession. The heads of agreement here referred to, as adopted in Connecticut, were those adopted in England, in 1692, by the Presbyterian and Congregational churches there.

established, were strong adherents of the early Puritan faith and church discipline; and it is probable, by the best evidence obtained, that the Rev. Mr. Dwight inclined to a more lax form of discipline.

It appears that Mr. Dwight removed from the town, and died, about ten years after his dismissal, in the year 1736.

Their second minister was Rev. Amos Throop, settled in 1727.

During his pastorate the church adopted, June 4, 1727, the new form of admitting persons to communion, by the new order of things, as before related: the owning of the covenant in order to baptism.

This new covenant was a departure from the specialties of the articles of Calvinistic faith, which, it is believed, are at this time regarded by the Congregational church, as essential to admission and baptism.

Rev. Mr. Throop died, September 7, 1736, after a pastorate of about ten years. His remains and place of interment are with his departed people, and noted by a visible memorial stone at the present time.

Soon after the death of the Rev. Mr. Throop, a day of fasting and prayer was held preparatory to the selection of a successor.

The call was made to a Mr. Hovey, but its acceptance was declined.

On the the 28th of October, 1736, Rev. Mr. Whittlesey was called, and a committee appointed, December 23, following, to inquire into his principles concerning church government. Mr. Whittelsey was from Connecticut, while, at this time, Woodstock remained a Massachusetts town, and he declined answering the questions proposed. There was quite a difference of sentiment among Congregationalists at this time in all matters of religious faith, and it is probable that the Woodstock people, by their adherence to the half-way cove-

nant, which now had become quite general, were determined upon a minister who favored this new form.

Mr. Whittlesey declined the call; and, on the 28th of March, 1737, the Rev. Abel Stiles of New Haven, was invited to preach on probation. He accepted their invitation, June 23, 1737. It appears he conformed to the requirements of the church in its government. But subsequently to the dissatisfaction of many in the church, it appears he departed in some respects from the principles upon which he was settled.

At a church meeting on the 27th of December, 1757, it was unanimously resolved, that it would not be for our own peace and edification for Rev. Mr. Stiles to be dismissed, but the contrary.

But, in September, 1758, the question was put, at the society meeting, whether they would grant a suitable sum of money for Rev. Mr. Stiles' salary, when it was passed in the negative. His salary being cut off, much feeling was expressed on the subject by opposing parties and by the pastor.

A serious division in the church was caused by this action; and it appears that a majority were not only opposed to the continuance of this minister as their pastor, but earnestly desired a change.

In January, 1759, a request was made by the society to Mr. Stiles to state upon what terms he would resign his pastorate. He having given his terms, they were accepted, but not without a separation of the friends of the minister from the church and society.

The pastor and his friends now organized a new church at Muddy Brook, and, as before related, took with them the church records, and proclaimed themselves the original church.

The feeling existing between the party that withdrew and those who continued with the old church at South Woodstock,

was reconciled through the interposition of Rev. Mr. Leonard, in 1766, then pastor of the first church.

A conciliatory letter was addressed by him to the Muddy Brook church, at the request of the old society, which was replied to, accompanied by resolutions of oblivion of past doings, and expressions of a desire for future friendship.

This society, after Rev. Mr. Stiles left in 1759, remained without a settled minister until 1763, at which time Rev. Abiel Leonard received an unanimous call to become their pastor.

By a vote of the society, he was offered £200 settlement money, and £80 salary.

Of twelve churches invited to take part in the ordination of Rev. Mr. Leonard, only one, that of Killingly, was of Connecticut. But six churches were represented on this occasion; and it proved most conclusively, that, notwithstanding this town had now been united politically with Connecticut about fifteen years, yet her affiliation and sympathy was most entirely in religious faith and discipline with her old associates of Massachusetts.

There appears to have been introduced a new covenant, which was signed by Mr. Leonard at this time, which is without date, but its bearing is strong against the Saybrook platform, which is another evidence of their continued adherence with Massachusetts.

It appears that, in 1769, during the ministrations of Rev. Mr. Leonard, the society commenced the change from the old mode of congregational singing to the modern form of singing by a choir. This attempt to modernize the singing was strongly opposed, and did not fully attain until the year 1775.

In May, 1775, Mr. Leonard was appointed chaplain to the Third Regiment of Connecticut troops, commanded by General Israel Putnam, by the General Assembly of the colony at the request of General Putnam. The church, at his request,

granted him leave of absence, and he soon joined his regiment before Boston. He addressed the regiment at Prospect Hill, followed by an appropriate prayer.

In April, 1776, the society was requested by letter from Generals Washington and Putnam to continue Rev. Mr. Leonard's leave of absence.

The letter is as follows :

“To the Church and Congregation at Woodstock :

“Mr. Leonard is a man whose exemplary life and conversation must make him highly esteemed by every person who has the pleasure of being acquainted with him.

“It, therefore, can be no surprise to us to hear they are loth to part with him.

“His influence in the army is great. He is employed in the glorious work of attending to the morals of a brave people who are fighting for their liberties—the liberties of the people of Woodstock—the liberties of all America.

“We therefore hope that, knowing how nobly he is employed, the congregation of Woodstock will cheerfully give up to the public a gentleman so very useful. And when, by the blessing of a kind Providence, this glorious and unparalleled struggle for our liberties is at an end, we have not the least doubt but Mr. Leonard will, with redoubled joy, be received in the open arms of a congregation so very dear to him as the good people of Woodstock are.

“This is what is hoped for—this is what is expected by the congregation of Woodstock's sincere well-wishers and very humble servants,

“GEORGE WASHINGTON,

“ISRAEL PUTNAM.

“Head-Quarters, Cambridge, }
“24th of March, 1776.” }

The society voted to continue Mr. Leonard's leave of absence, and he continued in the government service as chaplain until 1776, when he was suddenly dismissed by General Washington, for reasons not known. His chagrin and mortification, as has been supposed, induced him to commit suicide on his way home. He has been described as a man of good figure, an accomplished gentleman, and a fine pulpit orator.

In the year 1779 the Rev. Ephraim Lyman was unanimously

called by this church, with the offer of £200 settlement, and £70 salary, with twenty cords of fire-wood annually. He was known to be a firm adherent of the Cambridge platform, which was a good recommendation with the sound Puritan faith maintained at Woodstock.

In 1814 an examining committee was, for the first time, appointed in this church, to question candidates for communion. In 1815 this church, after an opposition of more than one hundred years, gave in its adherence to the Saybrook platform, and joined the Connecticut consociation.

Rev. Mr. Lyman continued his pastorate to 1824, a period of forty-five years, when he was dismissed. He died in 1835, at the age of eighty-three years. His remains rest near the scene of his labors.

In 1826 Rev. T. S. Clark received a call from this church, but declined acceptance.

Rev. R. S. Crampton was settled in 1827, held the pastorate about two years, and was dismissed in 1829. His adherence to Freemasonry was the principal cause of his dismissal. He had the reputation of a man of ability and a sound preacher. He was afterwards an agent of the American and Foreign Christian Union in the State of New York several years.

In 1830 this church voted that they would not receive into this church any person who was a member of the Masonic institution, but, in 1837, it was unanimously withdrawn.

Rev. W. M. Cornell was settled in 1831, and dismissed in 1834. He then practiced as a physician in Boston.

Rev. Otis Rockwood was settled in 1834, and continued as pastor to 1843. He removed to Cambridge, Massachusetts, and was without any pastoral charge. Mr. Rockwood's labors here were much favored; many members were added to the church; by the revival of 1842, forty joined as members.

In the the year 1844 Alvan Peake, a descendant of one of

the founders of this town, deceased, leaving a devise to the deacons of this church in perpetuity, amounting to about fifteen hundred dollars, the interest to be devoted to the maintenance of preaching the Gospel in this parish.

The successor of Mr. Rockwood was Rev. Jonathan Courtis. He was invited in November, 1845, with a request to know his views on the subject of slavery.

He declined the invitation in this form, believing it no part of the duties of a pastor at Woodstock to discuss the question of slavery; and furthermore, whatever might be his sentiments upon the slavery question, they not being any part of his duties or professional requirements, did not concern the members of this congregation.

In December, the call being renewed independently, he accepted, and soon entered upon his duties, and continued with satisfaction to his people till 1852, when, being attacked by paralysis, he resigned his office, but made this parish his home. Over twenty were admitted to this church during his ministry.

In 1853, in November, the same council that dismissed Mr. Courtis ordained the Rev. Henry M. Colton, who remained pastor here till January, 1855, when he was dismissed. Mr. Colton then removed to Middletown, Connecticut, and there opened a family boarding-school.

This society now for a number of years supported worship by supply. The Rev. Lemuel Grosvenor, was the principal reliance; he began his services in 1856, and remained here about ten years.

In a thanksgiving discourse delivered the 24th of November, 1859, he gave an historical sketch of this church, from the time of its first organization to this date.

Although brief, it was a labor of much research, and is an interesting production. This sketch is indebted to this work of Mr. Grosvenor for many dates and facts.

Following Mr. Grosvenor came the Rev. J. H. Lyon; the exact time of his services is not ascertained. His successor, Rev. N. Beach, was the minister here in 1869.

The old custom of retaining ministers during life or their ability to serve, ended here with the pastorate of the venerable Ephraim Lyman.

The wisdom of the change is not a question that requires discussion in gathering facts which the past has disclosed, but to leave that inquiry for each student of history to decide, without bias.

The former mode gave the minister and people a better knowledge of each other, and it would seem a greater interest in his people by the minister, which, well directed, ought to be for their advantage.

The old Puritan system which obliged every town to maintain a learned, orthodox, godly minister, was strictly observed in Woodstock. They were clear in the belief, that as the law required a minister to be supported at the expense of the town, it was fair and just that each inhabitant should pay his *pro rata* share according to the property he possessed. Thus, all the property of the town was alike taxed for the support of this first Congregational society, until the town was divided into separate parishes.

As the parishes were formed, each had the same right, within its particular limits, until other enactments permitted dissenters to relieve themselves from the support of the standing order, by showing, by a certificate, that they were of a different faith, and did support and attend worship accordingly.

This only relieved those of a different faith. All others that could not thus show by certificate that they supported otherwise, were taxed in common for the Congregational church of the parish in which they resided. Thus, all were compelled to support religious worship.

It is said this state of matters in religious affairs at Woodstock continued down to the year 1811.

The laws of Massachusetts and Connecticut were quite similar upon this question of support of religious worship, but the strict adherence to this principle, it is believed, was more general and less yielding in Connecticut, down to a more recent period, than in Massachusetts.

It has, however, been satisfactorily tested both sides of the line, between these States, that religion needs no compulsory enactments to insure its support, and that conscience is the only proper guide and impelling motor in that direction.

It was the custom in Woodstock, as also in towns generally in the early history of New England, to station tything-men in the galleries of the church, to keep a supervision over the youth, and in this town the custom continued down to a recent period.

It was formerly the custom here to adopt the Quaker mode of seating males and females on separate sides of the house. This, no doubt, ceased when pews instead of benches were used for seating the congregation.

In the two first meeting-houses, it was usual here, as was general in the colonial period, to dignify the pews. A committee was selected to decide upon the grade of honor and dignity in point of character each member of the parish sustained, and by that criterion to determine the eligible position of his seat in the meeting-house.

DEACONS.

Edward Morris, one of the first planters, was the first deacon of the first Congregational church, and probably continued his office through the pastorate of the first minister, the Rev. Josiah Dwight.

The second was Edward Chamberlain, chosen, September 8, 1727; and the next, William Lyon, elected on March 12, 1730.

In 1763 Jedediah Morse and William Skinner were selected for deacons, and held the office forty-three years. Deacon Skinner was born in Malden, Massachusetts, in 1720, and removed to Woodstock at the age of twenty-one years, in 1741; he died here, January 30, 1807, aged eighty-seven.

His wife died on the 16th of April, 1805, having lived a married life over fifty-nine years.

Deacon Morse was born in Woodstock in 1726, and married Sarah Child in 1747; he died in 1819, aged ninety-three; his wife died the 5th of April, 1805, but sixteen days before the death of Mrs. Skinner; she had been married fifty-eight years.

The coincidence of long life, being deacons of the church so long, living with wives of their choice so long a period, and both their wives deceasing so near the same time, are remarkable incidents.

It has been said of them that both being large in stature, they resembled each other much, possessed similar qualities of mind, were both strongly intellectual, possessing marked practical common sense and correct views relating to matters in general, which often called them to offices of trust and responsibility by their townsmen. It is also reported of them that they kept a diary, or had written each of them a brief sketch of their history, but that of Deacon Skinner was carried to Vermont by a relative. The sketch by Deacon Morse has been kept in this town by a descendant—Deacon Asa T. Child. It was written in 1810; the following are some of the facts disclosed, which exhibit his great usefulness and demand by his fellow-townsmen:

In 1763 he was chosen a selectman, and held that office eighteen years; in 1764 was elected to the General Assembly as their representative, and continued in that office thirty-one years; was chosen town clerk in 1767, and held that office twenty-seven years; also held the office of justice of the peace

from 1774 to 1801. He remarked in his diary relative to his social relations with Deacon Skinner :

“ We stood together forty-three years as brothers in harmony ; have taken sweet council together ; and many a time walked to the house of God in company ; but our days of pleasure are now closed by the death of Deacon Skinner.”

In 1820 Theophilus B. Chandler was chosen deacon, and in 1833, Moses Lyon, 3d, was elected to that office, and resigned in 1854.

The same year Lewis Chamberlain and Asa T. Child were elected deacons. Mr. Chamberlain having deceased in 1858, Alden Southworth was chosen to fill the vacancy.

It should have been stated before, in point of date, that, in 1798, Wm. Lyon, 2d, and Lothrop Holmes were elected deacons, and that, on the decease of Mr. Holmes in 1805, Jedediah Kimball was chosen to fill his place.

MEETING-HOUSES.

It has been related before that the founders of this town erected their first house for religious worship in the year 1691, and up to 1717, that small building remained their place of meeting, but as the inhabitants increased it was now found too limited for the members of the society, when a committee was selected by the town to view the old house and report what should be done. The report was, that it was not capable of repair to accommodate the people, and that the only proper and economical course was to erect a new house.

The town accepted this report with thanks, and proceeded to discuss the place for its location ; several places were favored by different parties, but it was finally voted to locate it near the burial-ground. Captain John Chandler, John Peak, and William Lyon were chosen to provide material.

Considerable delay followed, and aid was requested from

Roxbury, with the offer of setting the house further north for accommodating, as supposed, the north half of the town, but no response came from that source.

On the 23d of December, 1717, it was voted again to set the house within twenty rods of the burial-ground; yet this was not fully to the satisfaction of many, and another meeting was held in 1718, without any decisive action; but, on the 14th of December, 1719, at the annual town meeting, Mr. Dwight was called upon to pray with them, when all previous acts relating to the location of the house were annulled, and the question referred to three men out of town, viz., Joshua Ripley and John Fitch, of Windham, and Eleazer Bateman, of Killingly, who reported, December 28, following, in favor of the location by the burial-ground.

The site of the new house being established, a committee was elected for attending to building the same. Wm. Lyon, John Chandler, Jr., and Eliphalet Carpenter were to take this charge—to provide stone for the underpinning, and get the house framed as soon as they have a prospect of a supply of boards.

In April, 1721, another committee was raised to make provision for raising the house, and charged to use their best prudence in the provision they make, that it be done with frugality and honor. This charge to be at the expense of the town.

The committee for building reported the 18th of April, 1721, “that they had contracted for the lower work of the meeting-house for £80; that is, a pulpit of suitable bigness, the work to be quarter round, wainscoted, and with fluted pilasters on each side; the windows, a deacon seat, sounding board, and minister’s pew; also communion table, and stairs into the pulpit, and banisters; the gallery stairs to be half pilastered, and with banisters; a body of seats in centre of house, the fore part quarter round wainscot, and the hind part plain work;

the windows cased in present fashion, and ceiled up to bottom of same with boards. Knot holes, cracks, and open joints to be filled with tempered clay mortar, as high as the lower girths; floor laid; six pillars of suitable bigness turned and set in suitable places; the whole to be done workmanlike."

This meeting-house, at the time it was erected, was regarded as an elegant structure, too expensive for the ability of the town to pay for, and their representative was instructed to appeal for aid from the General Court, to permit the south half, the proprietors thereof, to lay a tax upon the non-residents' land in the north half of the grant, then owned by parties residing in Roxbury. This called forth a spirited memorial from that town, alleging that this meeting-house did not accommodate their half of the town, and that the cost of the house was much greater than needful, and that it had much better become the people of Woodstock to have first sat down and counted the cost before they had undertaken so great and chargeable work. In this appeal they were unsuccessful, and finally paid for their house by assessments upon the inhabitants, which induced them to restrict their money for schooling their children, and refrain from sending a representative to the General Court.

The estimate of character and dignity of the principal men of Woodstock was shown in 1722, by the priority of right each had in the location of their pews in this new house.

Their right of choice for location stands recorded as follows:

No. 1, John Chandler, Esq., supposed to stand highest in point of character in the town at this time. 2, Right to Lemuel Morris; 3, John Chandler, Jun.; 4, Samuel Perrin; 5, Jabez Corbin; 6, John Marcy; 7, Deacon Edward Morris; 8, Deacon Johnson; 9, James Corbin; 10, Eliphalet Carpenter; 11, Jonathan Payson; 12, Joseph Bartholomew; 13, Edward Chamberlain; 14, Ralph Lyon; 15, Zackariah Richards; and 16, John Morse.

This house was finished about the close of 1722. At a meeting, March 12, 1723, Deacon Edward Morris was chosen to take charge of the meeting-house, keep it swept, and have charge of the key and care of the *cushion*; the cushion for the desk, probably—not for seats, as such luxuries were not in use in country towns of that period. This second house continued as the place of worship for one hundred years, as the third house was not erected till the year 1821, just before the close of the long pastorate of the venerable Eliphalet Lyman, who, it is stated, contributed liberally towards its expense (he died in 1823), and also made a liberal subscription to aid in the purchase of a bell the preceding year, now in use, and of the weight of 1,070 lbs.

The original cost of this house was about \$4,000, and an expenditure for repairs and remodeling in 1858 was almost as great, which presents this meeting-house at this time like a new house.

It has been stated that the largest number of church members, at any one time in communion here, was 166; in 1860 it was 134.

The cemetery adjoining the meeting-house lot, northerly, is a place of interest for visitors to this ancient town, to spend a leisure hour; there may be found many memorial stones, denoting the resting-places of the early inhabitants, more ancient in date than in any other cemetery in this region. The oldest memorial stone here, that was noticed, is erected to denote the burial-place of Clement Corbin, who was one of the original proprietors and founders of the town, and bears date "1696." It has been noticed by examination in many old cemeteries, that before the year 1700, although many interments had been made, the head-stones rarely had any name or date; these stones were of such common brown-stone as could be had in the adjoining fields; the slate or marble memorial are rarely seen before that time, and of those of the

field stone thus used, it is rare that the chisel was ever used upon them—not so much (except in few instances), as to cut the initial letters of the name of the persons entombed.

Few towns have exhibited more care in protecting the burial-place of their dead than Woodstock. While there are no expensive memorial tablets, displaying great skill of the artist, the whole indicates care, neatness, and good taste ; and much unlike many cemeteries, where weeds and briars are permitted to grow and conceal from view what little may have been done to perpetuate the names of those placed in them. In front of this cemetery are several rows of vigorous trees, to give the place an air of seclusion, free from the tumult of business, reminding the beholder of a real place of rest, but on passing this guard of trees, all within is bright and cheerful.

The remains of their second minister, who died as before stated, September 7, 1736, at the age of thirty-four years, were deposited here on the ninth year of his pastorate. The following verse is inscribed on the memorial stone at his grave :

“ O cruel death ! to snatch from us below
One fit to live within the spheres on high ;
But since the great Creator orders so,
Here at his feet he doth submissive lie.”

This society held for many years a tract of about three and a half acres of land that came to it by the last will and testament of the late Hon. Samuel Dexter ; it is situated on the west side of the town common, nearly opposite the meeting-house of this Congregational church ; and the income from the use of this lot of land, it was declared by said will, should forever be appropriated for the support of preaching of this order in this religious society ; the lot was received, and the trust held as directed. The will evinces some eccentricity in the testator. Mr. Dexter was the son of the Rev. Samuel Dexter, of Roxbury, Massachusetts, who died in 1755, at the

age of fifty-four ; a descendant of Captain John Dexter, of Malden. This Mr. Dexter was for many years a noted merchant of Boston, a person of wealth and liberality. He gave \$5,000 to Harvard college for the support of lectures upon "Biblical Criticism." Possessed marked religious tendencies, and exerted great influence in the faith in which he was a believer. He was an influential member in the Massachusetts Continental Congress.

He married a Miss Sigourney of Boston, daughter of the second Andrew Sigourney, of French extraction, connected with the small colony of Huguenots who made the first plantation at Oxford. It is believed he removed to Woodstock from Boston about the close of the Revolutionary war, and made this the home of himself and family, until the close of his long life. He died, when on a visit, at Mendon, the 10th of June, 1810, aged eighty-four.

By a clause in his will, he required that his remains should be buried in the mathematical centre of the lot before mentioned, which he had donated to this church and society, and when so buried there should be no stone nor thing to mark the place—the same to be leveled, so that no indication should appear that a grave had there been made.

He also gave in his will special instructions for his funeral sermon, that the text should be—

"The things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal."

Furthermore, he gave express injunction that the minister who officiated at his funeral should not mention his name, or make any allusion to him in any particular, but expostulate with his auditory on the absurdity of being so anxious to lay up treasures upon earth, and neglect their well-being hereafter. Let him represent the summit of earthly glory as despicable, compared with the perfect and never-ending

felicity promised to the virtuous and good, that are permitted to enter upon that joy.

THE SECOND CONGREGATIONAL SOCIETY, WOODSTOCK.

This society is located in the West Parish of this town.

Religious meetings were first held here during the year of 1737, but they labored under about as much difficulty in the support of separate religious worship as Dissenters, although holding the same faith as the first church. That church claimed the right of taxing all the inhabitants of the town for the support of the Gospel in that organization, which, no doubt, was one of the reasons for desiring an act of incorporation as a separate town or precinct.

Application was first made to the voters in open town meeting, for granting the inhabitants in this part of the town the rights of a separate parish, which was then denied them. In 1742 these inhabitants petitioned the Legislature of Massachusetts for this object, but did not succeed; but on their petition to the same body the following year, an act was passed, September 14, 1743, incorporating this district as "The West Parish of Woodstock."

These inhabitants now had the same right to form a religious society, and to raise money for its support, as the first religious society, to the extent of their geographical limits.

It appears that they soon availed themselves of this privilege. A meeting, preparatory for this object, was held on the 27th of September, 1743, in the school-house, in the village of the parish. This meeting was organized by calling John Marcy to preside with Isaac Johnson for their clerk.

A committee was then selected for building a meeting-house, providing a location, and also to engage a minister.

This committee consisted of James Chaffee, James Marcy, and Ebenezer Lyon.

Rev. Stephen Williams was ordained their pastor on the

last Wednesday in June, 1747, and a church was formed the same year, as appears by the record of the first church, which shows that most of its members were dismissed from the first church for that purpose. Their meeting-house was built in 1747. Rev. Mr. Williams continued his pastorate with this church and society until his decease, in the year 1795.

The particulars relating to the settlement and character of the several ministers that have served this church and society since the close of the labors of Rev. Mr. Williams, have not been obtained, but their names, date of entering upon their duties here, and time of their dismissal, have been nearly as follows :

The Rev. Alvan Underwood was the first minister after the death of Mr. Williams. It is understood that there was a period of transient supply for this society of about six years before this pastor was settled.

Mr. Underwood began his pastorate the 27th of May, 1801; and so far as learned, continued his labors here, much to the acceptance of his people, for a period of about thirty-two years, terminating in March, 1833.

He was followed in the pastoral duties by the Rev. John D. Baldwin, who received ordination, September 3, 1834. He continued with this people till February, 1837.

Their next minister was not settled until nearly three years had elapsed. Then, in December, 1839, was installed Rev. Benjamin Ober, who labored here about six and a half years, and was dismissed in March, 1846.

The church and society now maintained services by supply several years.

Rev. Edward F. Brooks supplied from 1846 to the year 1850; the Rev. William Allen supplied from 1850 to 1852; then the Rev. Alvin Underwood supplied about two years, to 1854.

This society then engaged the Rev. Joseph W. Sessions,

who was installed in 1854, continued his labors about ten years, and received dismissal in 1864. Services were held again by supply. The Rev. Henry F. Hyde supplied from June 1, 1865, to April 24, 1867, and following him was Rev. William H. Kingsbury, who commenced here, July 1, 1867, and continued to April 1, 1870.

Mr. Kingsbury removed from here, and became pastor of a church at Charlton, New York; the south-west corner town in Saratoga county, formerly a part of Ballston, but made a separate town, March 17, 1792.

THE FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH, WOODSTOCK.

The first Baptist church of this town is located in the West Parish. It had its origin in the year 1766. This church celebrated its one hundredth anniversary, by a commemorative discourse by its pastor, Rev. J. Torrey Smith, Sunday, the 11th of November, 1766.

By the politeness of Rev. S. Barrows, the successor of Rev. Mr. Smith, a copy of this centenary discourse has been received, and from which the substance of this article has been taken.

It appears that a church was here constituted in February, 1766, and on May 29, 1768, Biel Ledoyt was ordained its pastor.

This organization arose through the influence exerted upon a young man, by a sermon preached here by the Rev. Noah Alden, on passing through the town in December, 1763. This religious service had a forcible effect upon his mind, and ended in a thorough conversion and change of heart, which gave tone and character to his future life. It is related that no sooner did the news of his religious conversion become known to his former companions, than they made a call upon him to use their influence to draw him back to his former levity. He willingly consented to join them to spend the

evening together, but his design was very unlike that of his associates.

The result of this interview showed the earnestness of his efforts ; instead of returning to his former ways, he prevailed with his companions to join with him in a religious meeting the next week, which was but the commencement of a series of meetings, an important religious revival, and the conversion of a large number of the young people of the parish. They partook of that earnest form of religious zeal which had been excited through the country, styled "The New Lights," introduced in part by that celebrated preacher, George Whitfield,* but fully sustained by the greatest of native American preachers, Jonathan Edwards.

The year 1740 may be taken as the commencement of the period of change from the Puritan lethargy into which many of the leading orthodox Congregational churches had fallen, to that warm, vital religion imbued with the pure scriptural teachings of Christ, love to God, and love to man. It fellowshiped with no *Half-Way Covenant*; it required a heart-felt conviction for sins, a regenerate spirit, and an honest confession of faith, that, through the gift of grace, they were born to be followers of Christ henceforth.

These young converts adopted the form of adult baptism, or, as called, *Believers' Baptism*, and called to be pastor of their church Biel Ledoyt, the young man who had been the leading spirit among them.

The number of members who joined in the organization in February, 1766, is not now known, as their early records have been lost. The facts here given have, so far, been derived

* George Whitfield was born in Gloucester, England, December 16, O. S., 1714, and died suddenly of asthma at Newburyport, Massachusetts, Sunday morning, September 30, 1770. He first visited America, May 7, 1738, arriving at Savannah, Georgia.

He made seven visits to America, and made tours through all the English colonies from Georgia to New Hampshire, preaching in all places where he passed, drawing together vast assemblages, and stirring up great religious feeling, carrying conviction to the hearts of multitudes who had but little religion before.

mostly from Backus' "Church History of New England." Eighteen years later, in 1784, Mr. Backus gives the number of members in this church as 143; and twenty-one years after its formation its number of members are reported by the Warren association in 1787 as 126.

Though the church was nominally without a pastor the first year of its existence, Mr. Ledoyt was, no doubt, the minister from the time of its organization, proving his fitness for the ordination which he received in 1768. Tradition reports the first years of this church as harmonious and prosperous; that in the year 1780 fifteen persons were added to the church by baptism in one day.

Towards the close of Mr. Ledoyt's pastorate two councils were called—one in August, 1788; and another, which met, July 16, 1790. Among the ministers present at these councils were those two eminent Baptist divines, Thomas Baldwin, moderator, and Isaac Backus, scribe. The nature of the difficulty existing at this time does not appear, but probably referred in some respects to Mr. Ledoyt, who resigned his pastorate in 1790, about the time of the last council, after serving the church and society about twenty five years.

The Rev. Samuel Webster followed Mr. Ledoyt with this people. In 1792 there were added to this church twenty-five members, and the whole number was seventy-three, as stated by the Warren association. It appears that Mr. Webster was a colored man, of slender gifts, ordained as an Evangelist while here, but the time he commenced or ended his services is not given, it is supposed to have been about two years, closing before September, 1794, at which time this church is reported by the Warren association as without a pastor.

In 1796 the church was reported to that association, with Rev. Robert Stanton, a licentiate from Stonington, as preacher. At this time the membership was about sixty-six. Mr. Stanton was ordained on January 19, 1799, and continued to serve as

pastor till 1805. He found the church in a low condition, but in 1801 a revival is recorded, in which thirty-eight were added, increasing the membership to ninety-three.

This church now withdrew from the Warren association, and, uniting with other churches in 1802, formed the Sturbridge association.

The present meeting-house of this society was commenced to be erected in 1804, but not finished until 1806. Previous to this time their meetings were held in a building which stood about half a mile to the south-west of the village, and is described in the records as a dilapidated structure, resembling a barn in bad condition.

Rev. Mr. Stanton served this people about nine years. During his pastorate forty-seven were added to the church, and the increase of membership was twenty-two. Serious divisions arose during his ministry, which continued several years after he left.

The first pastor and founder of the church was welcomed back to the place of his former labors in 1805, as successor to Rev. Mr. Stanton. Mr. Ledoyt had been absent about fifteen years, during which time he was a resident of Newport, New Hampshire; preached there and elsewhere in the vicinity, leaving his record in all that region as an earnest and successful preacher of the Gospel.

The church records have preserved the following testimonial, signed by the clerk of the church in Newport, which is deemed worthy of preservation, touching the character of this minister of the Gospel:

“To all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, this may certify, that Elder Biel Ledoyt is, and hath been, not only a minister of the Baptist church of Christ in Newport for upwards of fourteen years past, but hath served us as a faithful minister of Jesus Christ that term of time, and is approved as such by our sister churches throughout our association. We should gladly have retained him with us; but God,

who overrules all things, hath opened a door in His Providence whereby he must return and labor with the church of his youth.

And we do unfeignedly recommend him as a faithful brother and an able minister of the New Testament."

He found this church in as sad a state of dissension as when he left it fifteen years before. In his earnest efforts to heal its divisions he met with but partial success. He continued his labors here and vicinity until his death, March 24, 1813, aged seventy years.

The deceased was referred to in an obituary notice in the *Baptist Magazine* soon after this occurrence :

"He was a plain, unlettered, but not ignorant man. He was well acquainted with his Bible and with its distinguishing doctrines, which he endeavored to preach with all plainness and simplicity. Few men have lived more uniformly devoted to the service of their Divine Master, or enjoyed more extensively the confidence of the brethren with whom he was acquainted.

"His last sermon was from the words, 'Therefore be ye also ready; for in such an hour as ye think not the Son of Man cometh.' Closing this discourse he was seized with a fever, then prevailing in that vicinity: he said to those about him, 'Carry me home to die.' He died the Wednesday following.

"His remains lie buried in the old burying-ground of this parish. A respectable marble slab denotes his resting-place. It bears the following inscription: 'In memory of Rev. Biel Ledoyt, pastor of the first Baptist church in Woodstock, Connecticut. He was ordained, A.D., 1767; died at Woodstock, March 24, 1813, in the seventieth year of his age. He left a widow and four children to mourn his loss; but their cup was mingled with the sweet reflection that their loss was his gain. He was remarkably distinguished for his piety and zeal, and rose high in the esteem and affections of his brethren of the Baptist denomination. He was indefatigable in his labors, and the Lord blessed them for the gathering of the church of which he was pastor, from which originated several others in this region.'

" Well done good and faithful servant,
From pain to bliss, from earth to heaven removed,
In death remembered and on earth beloved."

It will be noticed that this inscription gives 1767 as the date of his ordination, while the preceding notice, taken from

Mr. Backus' history, gives 1768 ; the reason for this is, that Rev. Mr. Smith, in his historical discourse before referred to, inclines to the latter date, as the true one.

With the death of Rev. Mr. Ledoyt, the first pastor and founder of the first Baptist church in Woodstock, closes nearly the first half century of its existence. Although his efforts, the last years of his life, did much to heal the divisions in this church, which had for many years existed, it is reported that his death closed dissensions, and that full harmony now prevailed.

The membership in 1813 is given as sixty-four. In 1814 Nicholas Branch, a young licensed minister, supplied this pulpit. He was a member of the first Baptist church of Providence, Rhode Island, and was admitted to membership with this church, June 26, 1815, and the day following was ordained its pastor. Rev. Stephen Gano, of Providence, preached the sermon ; Rev. Zenas L. Leonard, of Sturbridge, offered the ordination prayer ; Rev. Luther Baker, of Providence second Baptist church, gave the charge ; Rev. George Angell, of the second Baptist church of Woodstock, gave the right hand of fellowship ; and Rev. James Grow, of Pomfret, offered the concluding prayer.

Rev. Nicholas Branch served six years as their minister. He was regarded as a successful pastor ; the church and society prospered under his administration ; at its close the membership was seventy-three. During his service the parsonage grounds were purchased, and the buildings as now standing were erected.

This church now remained several years, from 1820, without a settled minister.

Rev. Artemas Arnold, from Chatham, supplied the pulpit one year. Rev. John Nichols, of Thompson, followed for a short period ; the names of Rev. Mr. Barnes and Glazier are among those who supplied occasionally ; and Rev. John

Paine, from South Woodstock, supplied one fourth of the year 1824.

It appears that during this unsettled condition of affairs, an important revival in religion arose with this church and others in this vicinity, which added many new members.

This church united with others in 1825, in forming the Ashford association, and at its first meeting that year, its church members were represented at 110. There were forty-nine members received by baptism that year.

In the year 1825 Rev. George B. Atwell was settled, and continued his services nine years, till April, 1834. His labors here were in harmony with the church and society, and successful in adding members to the same; when he left its numbers in communion were 151. During this period, Calista Holman, afterwards wife of Rev. Justus H. Vinton, became interested in religion and missionary affairs, to which she has since devoted herself.

The successor in the pastorate here was Rev. Nathan D. Benedict, who continued till 1839. A revival which began in September, 1834, and was general in this vicinity, favored this church, giving new vitality to its efforts. Its members, in 1839, were 173. Two, who were among the converts of this period, John B. Gould and Hugh Dempsey, were soon after licensed to preach, and subsequently became ordained ministers and successful preachers.

A call was now given to Rev. Bela Hicks, who began his service in the spring of 1840. Mr. Hicks continued a prosperous ministry for a period of three years. Fifty-three new members were received, making an aggregate of the membership, at its close, of 193, probably the largest number of communicants it has ever had at any one time.

During this pastorate of Rev. Mr. Hicks the meeting-house received extensive repairs to the extent of \$1,100, restoring it to the condition it was in at the time it was finished in 1806.

This church was now supplied for 1843 by Rev. Isaac Woodbury. His successor was Rev. Henry Bromley, who served about two and a half years, closing in 1846. Rev. E. C. Brown now served till the spring of 1849, when Rev. Bela Hicks returned, and served a second term of three and a half years, till the autumn of 1852.

The church was now for a time without a supply, until the spring of 1853, when Rev. Thomas Holman, a brother of Mrs. Vinton, before referred to, was called to the pastorate.

Mr. Holman remained about a year and a half, and resigned his charge in the autumn of 1854. At this time the number of members was 167.

Rev. John Paine now supplied preaching a few months. During 1854 the meeting-house was repainted and repaired at an expense of \$304.

Rev. Levi H. Wakeman accepted the pastorate in the spring of 1855, and served acceptably four years, leaving a membership in the church of 147.

Rev. Nicholas Branch, a former pastor, succeeded Rev. Mr. Wakeman in 1858, serving over two years. It was now forty-five years since Rev. Mr. Branch supplied this pulpit first, as a young licensed preacher from Providence; then the number of members was sixty-eight, now 147; but of those sixty-eight he came to, in 1813, only three or four were now remaining. Here Mr. Branch, like his predecessor, in his first settlement, began his ministerial life, and like that venerable predecessor, Rev. Biel Ledoyt, he returned here and closed both his ministry and earthly labors.

He retired from the pastorate here in the spring of 1861, at the age of seventy-five years, and from the ministry. He continued his residence here, loved and venerated by his people, dying, September 30, 1863, in his seventy-eighth year.

The ministry of Rev. Mr. Branch was longer than that of the venerable Ledoyt; both together had been witnesses of its

seasons of prosperity and adversity during nearly a century of its existence. Their memory is still fragrant here.

After the resignation of Mr. Branch, in the spring of 1861, Rev. Watson A. Worthington succeeded to the pastorate, and served acceptably four years. The church and society prospered under his administration, at the close of which, in the spring of 1865, the membership in the church was one hundred and fifty-one, a net gain of twelve during this period.

A call was now given to Rev. J. Torrey Smith, who entered upon his duties as pastor soon after the resignation of Rev. Mr. Worthington, and served this church and society about four years.

The character of his centenary discourse, delivered in 1866, gives evidence that he was a man of great industry, entering fully into the spirit of his duties, and having a special regard for the welfare of his charge. He was succeeded by the Rev. S. Barrows.

THE SECOND BAPTIST CHURCH IN WOODSTOCK.

This church and society is in the south parish of this town. Those who embrace the faith of this denomination in this parish are persons of much respectability. The particulars as to the time of its first organization, or names of the ministers that have been settled there, have not been ascertained, except about the year 1813. Rev. George Angell, late pastor of the first Baptist church and society in Southbridge, was their minister, and continued with them till he was settled at Southbridge, in 1816.

They have a meeting-house, and the society, it is believed, is generally supplied with preaching. It is understood that their records are very imperfectly kept; such has been the report when application was made for facts relating to their history, for this work. Thus its history fails to appear in this sketch. It may here be remarked that, with many, but little

interest is manifested favoring any research into the past history of these societies; other engagements so much engross their time, it is supposed that little is left for such objects. Then, again, distance from the location of these facts has prevented this writer from any prolonged research among such records as are to be found, although many visits have been made to this town exclusively for such object; and thus much of the history of these several religious societies, as well as the facts concerning the history of the affairs of this town, have been omitted.

It is understood, however, that another writer in their immediate vicinity is engaged upon an historical work embracing this town and others in Windham county, which is expected to be far more particular and deserving of the name of history than anything here accomplished.

THE THIRD CONGREGATIONAL SOCIETY; OR, MUDDY
BROOK PARISH, EAST WOODSTOCK.

This church and religious society was formed by a separation of the members of the first church and society in this town, in the year 1759. It was occasioned by a disagreement regarding their minister, the Rev. Abel Stiles, who had been settled over this first church in 1737. By this disagreement a majority, in 1759, had become dissatisfied with the pastor, while a respectable minority of the church members favored their minister; and at this time, by the rightful exercise of the authority which was used by the majority, he was discharged, but taken up by his friends in this body, who withdrew at this time with their pastor, and formed a separate religious society; and in the year 1766, having all the previous records of the society from which they separated, declared themselves the first church of Woodstock.

It does not appear, from evidence yet discovered, that this separate organization, which established its house of worship

at East Woodstock, ever attempted to raise funds for its support by assuming the right permitted by law to the first religious society, to tax the property and polls of this town; and it is believed that its support has been derived simply from the members of the parish.

The Rev. Mr. Stiles continued his pastorate with this separate organization during the remainder of his life, which terminated on July 25, 1783, at the age of seventy-four years. On the 27th of December, 1780, the Rev. Joshua Johnson was ordained as his colleague, and dismissed on the 28th of September, 1790.

Their next pastor was Rev. William Graves, ordained, August 31, 1791, and died here, August 26, 1813, at the age of forty-eight.

Mr. Graves was succeeded by Rev. Samuel Backus, ordained, January 19, 1815, and continued the pastorate to the 3d of June, 1830, when he received his dismissal.

He was followed in the pastorate by Rev. Orson Cowles, ordained, April 25, 1832, and dismissed, September 4, 1837.

Then this church called to the pastorate Rev. Thomas Bouteille, who was ordained, December 6, 1837, and continued, until dismissed, March 21, 1849.

Preaching was now supplied by Rev. James A. Clark from December, 1849, to January, 1851.

The Rev. M. Burdette now became their pastor. He was installed, April 21, 1852, and dismissed, January 9, 1854. Then the Rev. J. A. Roberts supplied preaching from March, 1855, to April, 1855, and was followed for a supply in the ministry, December, 1855, by Rev. Edward H. Pratt.

Following Rev. Mr. Pratt, as supply, there have been the Rev. Francis Dyer, Rev. G. L. Putman, William A. Benedict, and William H. Phipps, who was engaged with this people in 1872.

DEACONS

OF THE THIRD CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, EAST WOODSTOCK.

Caleb May, elected, September 24, 1766.
 Nehemiah Lyon, elected, September 24, 1766.
 Elisha Child, “ November 13, 1782.
 Charles Child, “ October 14, 1789.
 Nathaniel Briggs, “ about 1815.
 William Child, “ January 17, 1819.
 Luther Child, “ June 25, 1824.
 Theophilus B. Chandler, elected, November 4, 1836.
 Asa Lyon, elected, November 4, 1836.
 Elisha C. Walker, elected, March 30, 1849.
 Halsey Bixby, “ December 1, 1854.

Since the last above date, George A. Paine was elected deacon of this church, who deceased in August, 1872, and when this information was obtained, there had been no choice for a successor.

MEETING-HOUSES.

The first meeting-house erected in East Woodstock was for this third Congregational society, and was built in the parish of Muddy Brook, about the year 1767. This continued as the place of worship for all persons of this denomination in this parish till 1831, when a part of the church members and society withdrew to a new house at Village Corners, and formed the fourth Congregational church and society in this town. This church and society erected for themselves a new meeting-house in 1832, on the location of their first house of worship, in which, now in 1872, they continue their meetings.

CONGREGATIONAL SOCIETY, NORTH WOODSTOCK.

This church and society arose from a division of the church at East Woodstock, or Muddy Brook parish. That church and society embraced the principal inhabitants of both east and north villages.

In 1830, by a vote taken for building a new meeting-house, it was decided by a majority of the members to locate the house in the north village. The meeting-house was built according to said vote, and on the 25th of February, 1831, soon after the house was finished, it was voted by a majority of members to hold their meetings for religious worship in this new meeting-house.

This action caused a separation of the church and society; those opposed to this removal continued their worship at the old house, and remained, as before, the third, or Muddy Brook Congregational society. The new society, composed of those who withdrew from the Muddy Brook or East Woodstock society, now took the name of the "Congregational Society of North Woodstock," located at the village known heretofore as Village Corners.

The number of members in the church at the time of this division was seventy-four.

Rev. Alvan Underwood preached as supply a short time as their first minister.

Rev. Foster Thayer received a call as their first pastor. He was ordained, June 29, 1831, and dismissed, September 19, 1836. The successor was Rev. Lent S. Hough; the ordination service took place, January 11, 1837, as follows:

Introductory prayer and sermon by Rev. L. Ives Hoadley, of Charlestown, Massachusetts; installation prayer, by Rev. Joseph S. Clark, Sturbridge, Massachusetts; charge to pastor, by Rev. Otis Rockwood, South Woodstock; right-hand fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Cowles; address to the people and concluding prayer, by Rev. John D. Baldwin, of West Woodstock.

Rev. Mr. Hough came to this church from Chaplin. He was dismissed, May 11, 1841. This was occasioned by the ill-health of the pastor, and at his request.

During his ministry, thirty-three members joined the church

by profession, and twelve by letter. Twenty-three joined by profession at one time, May 5, 1839.

A call was given in July, 1841, to Rev. Willard Child, D. D., but not accepted. The invitation was renewed in June, 1842, but again declined.

Dr. Child supplied for a time; but in August accepted a call, and settled with the fifth Congregational church at Norwich.

An invitation was given to Rev. William H. Marsh, in 1844, to become their pastor, and accepted. His installation took place, November 20, as follows :

Introductory prayer and reading of the Scriptures, by Rev. Benjamin Ober, West Woodstock; sermon, by Rev. Edward W. Hooker, D. D., of the Theological Seminary, East Windsor; installation prayer, by Rev. Joshua Bates, D. D., of Dudley, Massachusetts; charge to pastor, by Rev. Daniel Dow, D. D., of Thompson; right hand of fellowship, by Rev. Thomas Boutelle, East Woodstock; address to the people, by Rev. Eber Carpenter, of Southbridge, Massachusetts; concluding prayer, by Rev. Daniel C. Frost.

During Rev. Mr. Marsh's pastorate, seven joined by profession, and ten by letter. He was dismissed, April 22, 1851.

Rev. O. D. Hive succeeded to the pastorate, and was installed on January 6, 1852, by the following services : Prayer, introductory, and reading of Scriptures, by Rev. L. Carey, Webster, Massachusetts; sermon, by Rev. George Bushnell, Worcester; installation prayer, by Rev. L. Carey; charge to pastor, by Rev. Jonathan Courtis, of Woodstock; right hand of fellowship, by Rev. R. C. Learned, Canterbury; charge to the people, by Rev. A. Dunning, Thompson; and closing prayer, by Mr. Learned.

Rev. Mr. Hive was dismissed, October 31, 1855. During his ministry thirteen joined the church by profession, and eight by letter.

Rev. D. M. Elwood was the successor ; after supplying the pulpit about ten months, was installed, March 24, 1858, and received dismissal in September, 1859, to accept a call from the Congregational church at Centre Falls, Rhode Island.

There were received into this church during this pastorate, fifty-one by profession, and ten by letter.

In the spring of 1857, about the commencement of Mr. Elwood's services, there became an important revival of religion with this people, the fruits of which were an addition to the church by profession in March of thirteen, and in May following, by profession, thirty-two; and by letter, five; increasing its members by fifty communicants.

It was voted at the regular church meeting in March, 1858, that the meetings for prayer, conference, and the cultivation of Christian fellowship and sympathy, be held on the second Thursday of each month.

At this time the pastor and deacons were authorized to revise the articles of faith and covenant, and prepare a church manual to be presented for the use of the members. This vote was again made in March, 1860, when Rev. John White was pastor, and was speedily carried into effect.

Rev. Mr. White commenced his labors as supply and acting pastor, December, 1859, and left to perform some unfinished business of the *Mendi Mission*, for the American Board, in December 1, 1861. Having finished this mission business in Africa, he returned to the ministry at this church in November, 1862, and continued here until December 19, 1865, when, owing to failing health, he asked for dismissal, and soon after became pastor of a newly organized church at Ames, Story county, Iowa. He was a faithful minister, ardently devoted to the cause of Christ. During his services there were added to this church twenty-four members by profession, and thirteen by letter.

Mr. White was an active, working minister, and introduced

plans of work in the cause of religion for the members of the church, to increase their devotion to the cause generally. A plan of labor and increased effort was brought forward in the spring of 1864, mainly as follows :

First, to hold monthly meetings, at which church members alone were expected to be present; the appointment of a committee of four, either male or female, to converse first with the younger church members; second, with those interested in religion; third, more general duties in the way of exhortation and admonition, and to report what influences were operating against religion; fourth, to report the number of non-church-going people in the parish, the number of Sabbath-School scholars, and those in the parish not attending that school; and to report also all hopeful conversions.

Reports were also expected from the pastor, the officers of the church, and from the superintendent of the Sabbath-School.

The great object was to increase the interest in favor of religion and the church with all classes, to enlist the sympathies and active influence of the church and society in favor of the Sabbath-School, and to direct the attention of all the members of the church and society, as far as possible, to the general advancement of the cause of Christ in this behalf.

This was Rev. Mr. White's effort up to the time he closed his services with this people.

Rev. Thaddeus H. Brown was his successor. The ordination took place, April 11, 1866. Services as follows: Introductory prayer and reading of Scriptures by Rev. J. H. Lyon, Woodstock; sermon, by Rev. Professor Smith, Andover, Massachusetts; right hand of fellowship, by Rev. H. F. Hyde, of West Woodstock; charge to pastor and people, by Rev. E. H. Pratt, of East Woodstock; ordaining prayer, by Rev. S. C. Kendall, of Webster, Massachusetts; benediction, by the pastor.

The pastorate of Rev. Mr. Brown was closed by his death,

October 19, 1868. During his ministry there were added to this church ten by profession, and five by letter.

Rev. J. W. Kingsbury succeeded to the pastorate here, November 24, 1869, at which time he received installation as follows: Introductory exercise, by Rev. G. J. Tillotson, of Putnam; sermon, by Rev. J. Taylor, D. D., of West Killingly; installation prayer, by Rev. N. Beach, of Woodstock; charge to pastor, by Rev. H. F. Hyde, of Pomfret; right hand of fellowship, by Rev. W. H. Kingsbury, brother of the pastor, of West Woodstock; address to the people, by Rev. D. Breed, of Abington.

Rev. Mr. Kingsbury continues to labor satisfactorily with this people when last heard from.

Infant baptisms have been recorded as follows:

In 1832,	-	-	-	-	19	In 1855,	-	-	-	-	3
" 1833,	-	-	-	-	7	" 1857,	-	-	-	-	7
" 1837,	-	-	-	-	12	" 1859,	-	-	-	-	5
" 1839,	-	-	-	-	3	" 1860,	-	-	-	-	2
" 1840,	-	-	-	-	13	" 1863,	-	-	-	-	3
" 1842,	-	-	-	-	9	" 1864,	-	-	-	-	1
" 1845,	-	-	-	-	4	" 1868,	-	-	-	-	1
" 1846,	-	-	-	-	5	" 1869,	-	-	-	-	2
" 1854,	-	-	-	-	2						

It is presumed that there are omissions of record of the baptisms of some years.

BIOGRAPHICAL.

CHAPTER IV.

MANY distinguished men of various professions in life this town has the honor of claiming as their birthplace, or as having descended from its founders, among whom are the following: General William Eaton, born on the 23d of February, 1764, was the son of a respectable farmer, in the middle rank of life, teaching school winters; he died, November 23, 1804. He was one of a large family, possessing great vigor, physically and mentally. At the age of sixteen ran away from home, and enlisted in the Revolutionary war; and continued in service, except a short time when sick, to the close, in 1783. 1811

In the years 1784-'85 he entered upon and pursued a course of studies preparatory to entering college, and became religiously inclined. Being at Franklin, Massachusetts, in charge of Rev. Mr. Nott, he was received into the church under his pastorate.

During this time his proficiency was such, that he was accepted as a student in Dartmouth college. He graduated in 1790, and received the degree of B. A.

Soon after leaving college he made the acquaintance of the youthful widow of General Timothy Danielson, and married her the 21st of August, 1792, he having received in March previous a captain's commission in the United States army, and was settled with his wife for a time at Windsor, Vermont.

In 1793 he received orders to join the Western army under General Anthony Wayne, and commanded the left column of this force, arriving at Cincinnati in May following. About this time he established his family at Brimfield, Massachusetts, where he continued his future home.

In 1795 he was ordered to Savannah, Georgia, and arrived there the 26th of December following. Here he built Fort Pickering, for a protection against the Indians and Spaniards.

He returned to his family at Brimfield in 1797, and at the close of this year received the appointment of American consul at Tunis. After about a year of preparation, and shaping his personal affairs to leave the country, he sailed from New York in the United States brig *Sophia*, the 22d of December, and arrived at his post the 9th of February, 1799.

He now began that career which gives the chief renown to his active life. For several years he was engaged in the difficult and arduous negotiations with the Dey of Tunis, to protect the American commerce in the Mediterranean sea from the piratical cruisers of that province.

To the boldness and prompt action of Eaton in this behalf the commerce of these waters is greatly indebted.

The most exciting and chivalrous part of General Eaton's services in connection with the Barbary powers, was the part he took in the war against Tripoli.*

* This short war with Tripoli and that against France, occasioned by the depredations of the cruisers sent out by the French Directory, in 1798-'99, brought into note many of the most honored names that adorn the annals of the American navy. The most conspicuous in this service may be named: Commodore Richard Dale, born, November 6, 1756, in Norfolk county, Virginia, and died at Philadelphia, February 26, 1826; Commodore Edward Preble, born at Falmouth, now Portland, Maine, August 15, 1761, and died there, August 25, 1807; Commodore Truxton, born at Jamaica, Long Island, February 17, 1755, and died in Philadelphia in August, 1822; Commodore William Bainbridge, born at Princeton, New Jersey, May 7, 1774; died at Philadelphia, July 28, 1832; Commodore Isaac Hull, born at Derby, Connecticut, in 1775; died in Philadelphia, February 13, 1843; Commodore Stephen Decatur, born on the South Shore of Maryland, January 7, 1779; he was of French descent; killed in a duel at Bladensburg, Maryland, by a shot from Commodore Barron, on the 22d of March, 1822; Commodore Charles Stewart, born in Philadelphia, July 28, 1778; was alive in 1859; Commodore Thomas MacDonough, born at Newcastle, Delaware, in December, 1783; died at sea, November 18, 1815; Commodore Charles Morris,

Eaton conceived the idea of uniting with Hamet Caramelli, the rightful Bey of Tripoli, who had been deposed by his brother, then in authority, and by a military force restore him to the head of that power. After much opposition, having visited the United States in 1803, for that object, and received encouragement favorable to his design, he returned in 1804, as agent of the navy for the Barbary States.

Hamet, after serious reverses in his attempts to regain his rights, had retired to Egypt, where Eaton followed him and sought him out, some hundred miles in the interior of that country.

In the spring of 1805 he assisted Hamet in securing a force of 500 men, and marched this little army across the Lybian desert, attacked Derne, the capital of one of the richest provinces of Tripoli, on the 27th of April, and, with the assistance of the American fleet in those waters, captured that city. He also soon after met the forces of the dey sent from Tripoli, on the 11th of June, and, after a severe battle, gained a victory, and drove their remaining forces back into the mountains.

Eaton now commenced preparations to march on Tripoli to reinstate Hamet, but through a peace and treaty arranged by the United States minister, Tobias Lear, with the bashaw, these plans and arrangements for the aid of Hamet were abandoned, greatly to the disappointment and loss of faith with that person, and much to the disgust of General Eaton.

This treaty, by many at the time, was believed to be premature and unwise, as \$60,000 was paid the bey for the release of the American prisoners and freedom from piratical cruisers,

born in Woodstock, Connecticut, in the year 1784, died in Washington, District of Columbia, January 27, 1856; Commodore Oliver Hazzard Perry, born at Newport, Rhode Island, in August, 1785; died aboard his ship, the *John Adams*, near the island of Trinidad, West Indies, of yellow-fever, August 23, 1819; Captain James Lawrence, born at Burlington, New Jersey, October 1, 1781, and lost his life by a wound in the naval battle between the *Chesapeake* and *Shannon*, off Boston, the 1st of June, 1813.

from this government, that had heretofore preyed upon the American commerce in that sea, and leaving Hamet, if possible, in worse condition than before, which sum it was believed, might have been saved by an active, but brief prosecution of that war.

But, to the honor of Eaton, he made provision for the escape of Hamet to Syracuse, and tried to induce him to retire to the United States ; but this he declined.

On the 6th of August, Eaton, having closed his duties as the agent of the navy in that department, returned home in 1805, entering Hampton Roads in Virginia, and soon after traveled to Washington, where he was received by the President and the people with much distinction, for the judgment, courage, and great perseverance he had displayed in behalf of the government in this difficult and dangerous service.

In December following he visited his family at Brimfield, having been greatly complimented in the principal cities on the way by public receptions.

He was honorably mentioned by the President in his message on the opening of the following Congress ; but the foregoing offices under the General Government closed, to a great extent, his public life. He was honored by the town of Brimfield by a seat in the State Legislature, in 1807, and died at his house with his family, the 1st of June, 1811.

COMMODORE CHARLES MORRIS.

The commodore was born at Woodstock in 1784. He entered the navy as midshipman, July, 1799, and served during the war with Tripoli, from 1801 to 1805, with distinction, in the squadron of Commodore Edward Preble. He participated in that hazardous exploit, under command of Decatur, that destroyed the frigate *Philadelphia* in the harbor of Tripoli, on the night of the 15th of February, 1804.

In January, 1807, he was promoted to a lieutenant, and in

the war of 1812 served as first lieutenant of the frigate *Constitution*, and distinguished himself during the chase of that vessel for three days and nights by a British squadron in July, 1812; and by his gallantry in the action between the *Constitution* and the *Guerriere*, August 19, following, when he received a severe wound.

He was then appointed to the command of the ship *John Adams*, of twenty-eight guns, and made an important cruise upon the coasts of the United States and Ireland, greatly hazarding and destroying British commerce.

In August, 1814, he was followed into the Penobscot river by a British fleet, and while at Hampton, in endeavoring to protect his ship by his crew and militia, finding his efforts hopeless, he destroyed her, and directed his crew to separate into small parties, and travel through the country, 200 miles, to Portland, every man reporting himself in due time.

After the peace with England he continued in active employment, either afloat or on land, except two and a half years, in a professional career, to the end of his life; was twenty-one years at sea, commanding four squadrons, eleven years commanding at navy-yards, eight years head officer of bureaus. He died at Washington, District of Columbia, on the 27th of January, 1856.

JEDEDIAH MORSE, D.D.

Dr. Morse was the son of Deacon Jedediah Morse, of whom mention has been made, in connection with the historical sketch of the first church of Woodstock.

He was born in this town the 23d of August, 1761; graduated at Yale college in 1783; licensed to preach in 1785, by the New Haven association of Congregational ministers. He was for a time tutor at Yale, and in 1786 was ordained a minister of the Gospel. In 1789 was installed as pastor of the first Congregational church in Charlestown, Massachusetts.

He received the honorary degree of D. D. from the Edinburgh university in 1794; and was an active member of the Massachusetts Historical society, and other literary and scientific bodies at that time.

Dr. Morse is known as the father of American geography. He prepared, while in New Haven, in 1784, for the use of schools for young ladies, an 18mo geography, the first work of the kind published in America. This was followed by large works in the form of systems of geography and gazetteers, giving full description of the country from materials gathered by traveling and correspondence.

Dr. Jeremy Belknap, the historian of New Hampshire; Thomas Hutchins, the geographer-general of the United States; Ebenezer Hazzard, the postmaster-general, and others, had contemplated the same task, but ascertaining the progress of the doctor in this research, yielded their pretensions in his favor, and furnished him with many materials for this work gathered by them.

For a period of thirty years he continued, almost alone, the work in this department of science.

Reprints of his larger geographical works were republished in Great Britain; and translations of them were made in the French, at Paris, and in German, at Hamburg. He labored actively in writing and preaching against the innovation of Unitarianism, and engaged himself in favor of the enlargement, in 1804, of the Massachusetts general association of Congregational ministers, based on the Westminster assembly's catechism.

In 1805 he opposed, though unsuccessfully, the election of the Rev. Henry Ware, D. D., to the Hollis professorship of divinity in Harvard college.

The same year he established a monthly religious journal, called the *Panoplist*, which was continued five years. He was prominent in the establishment of the Andover Theo-

logical seminary, the preventing a rival institution at Newbury, projected by the Hopkinsians, and in effecting a union of these parties on a common Calvinistic basis, the Westminster assembly's catechism.

The articles of this union, which were signed in his study at Charlestown, November 30, 1807, constitute substantially the theological basis of that institution at Andover at the present time. Dr. Samuel Spring and Dr. Eliphalet Parsons were united with Dr. Morse in framing these articles of agreement.

He joined in the organization of the Park street church in 1808, conforming to the standard of theology at Andover, when all the other Congregational churches in Boston, except the Old South, had more or less departed from that standard of faith. His anxiety and labors were exceedingly great at this period in opposing any departure from the old Puritan character of Congregationalism. This action brought down upon him, as one of the chief leaders of this faith, all that party of the Congregationalists who were tinctured with what was styled "Liberalism," or those who had actually embraced the doctrine of Unitarianism.

Dr. Morse suffered in his health by these active mental labors, and found it necessary to be relieved from the pastoral cares of a church; thus he requested to be discharged from those duties by the church and society at Charlestown, over which he had so long and faithfully presided; this request was granted in 1820.

He now removed to New Haven, where he continued to reside till the time of his decease, June 9, 1826.

In 1820 he was commissioned by the United States government to visit the North-Western Indians; on his return, the account of his doings covered, when printed, 400 pages, 8vo, and was published in 1822. He published "Annals of the Revolution," a book of sermons, and a general history

of New England. These publications are in addition to his geographical works.

The sons of Dr. Jedediah Morse, Samuel Finley Breese Morse, born at Charlestown, Massachusetts, April 27, 1791, and Sidney Edwards Morse, born at Charlestown, on the 7th of February, 1794, and both recently deceased, have abundantly sustained the same vigorous, intellectual powers so strongly exhibited by their father and grandfather ; the former as the inventor of the electric telegraph, and the latter as an American journalist, in connection with his younger brother, Richard C. Morse, establishing and ably sustaining for many years the *New York Observer*.

This gives evidence of the tenacity of intellectual powers, continued in the same family, controlled by strong moral and religious sensibility. It is difficult to estimate the value of the persistent characteristics of such men by example and precept in diffusing knowledge and correct principles. There is scarcely a blemish upon the character of either, belonging to the three generations of this family. This has probably arisen from the firm and consistent character of the elder, Deacon Jedediah Morse, who, through a long life, sustained the most entire confidence of his townsmen.

PROFESSOR SAMUEL FINLEY BREESE MORSE.

Professor Morse, son of Rev. Jedediah Morse, D. D., was born as given above ; graduated at Yale college, Connecticut, in 1810 ; and went to England with Washington Allston in 1811 to study painting under him and Benjamin West. In 1813 he received the gold medal of the Adelphi Society of Arts at the hands of the Duke of Norfolk, for an original model of a "Dying Hercules," his first attempt at sculpture. He returned to the United States in 1815, and in 1824-'25, with other artists of New York, organized a drawing associa-

tion, which after two years' struggle against various obstacles, resulted in the establishment in 1826 of the present National Academy of Design. Mr. Morse was chosen its first president, and was continued in that office for sixteen years. In 1829 he visited Europe a second time, to complete his studies in art, residing for more than three years in the principal cities of the continent. During his absence abroad he had been elected to the professorship of the literature of the arts of design in the university of the city of New York; and in 1835 delivered a course of lectures before that institution on the affinity of those arts.

While a student in Yale college Mr. Morse had paid special attention to chemistry, under the instruction of Professor Silliman, and to natural philosophy under that of Professor Day; and these departments of science, from being subordinate as a recreation, at length became a dominant pursuit with him. In 1826-'27 Professor J. Freeman Dana had been colleague lecturer in the city of New York with Mr. Morse at the Athenæum; the former lecturing upon electro-magnetism, and the latter upon the fine arts. They were intimate friends, and in their conversation the subject of electro-magnetism was made familiar to the mind of Morse. The electro-magnet, on Sturgeon's principle (the first ever shown in the United States), was exhibited and explained in Dana's lectures, and, at a later date, by gift of Professor Torrey, came into Morse's possession. Dana even then suggested, by his spiral volute coil, the electro-magnet of the present day. This was the magnet in use when Morse returned to Europe, and it is now used in every Morse telegraph throughout both hemispheres.

He embarked in the autumn of 1832, at Havre, on board the packet-ship *Sully*; and, in a casual conversation with some of the passengers on the then present discovery in France of the means of obtaining the electric spark from the magnet, showing the identity or relation of electricity and magnetism,

Morse's mind conceived, not merely the idea of an electric telegraph, but of an electro-magnet and chemical recording telegraph, substantially and essentially as it now exists. The testimony to the paternity of the idea in Morse's mind, and to his acts and drawings on board the ship, is ample. His own testimony is corroborated by all the passengers (with a single exception), who testified with him before the courts, and was considered conclusive by the judges; and the date, 1832, is therefore fixed by this evidence as the date of Morse's conception, and realization also, so far as drawings could embody the conception of the telegraph system, which now bears his name. But though thus conceived and devised as early as 1832, in the latter part of which year, on reaching home, he made a portion of the apparatus, yet circumstances prevented the complete construction of the first recording apparatus in New York city until the year 1835; and then it was a rude single apparatus—sufficient, indeed, to embody the invention, and enable him to communicate from one extremity of two distant points of a circuit of half a mile, but not back again from the other extremity. The first instrument was shown in successful operation to many persons in 1835 and 1836. For the purpose of communicating from as well as to a distant point, a duplicate of his instruments was needed, and it was not till July, 1837, that he was able to have one constructed to complete his whole plan. Hence, early in September, 1837, having his whole plan thus arranged, he exhibited to hundreds the operation of his system at the university of New York.

It may be interesting to notice here the following character of Mr. Morse, as given by the janitor of the New York university to a party seeking rooms there about this time. In looking at rooms to be rented, he passed into one that had the appearance of an artist's studio, but every object in it bore the appearance of unthrift and neglect. The statuettes, busts, and models of various kinds were covered with dust and cobwebs;

dusty canvases were faced to the wall, and stumps of brushes and scraps of paper littered the floor. The only signs of industry consisted of a few masterly crayon drawings and little luscious studies of color pinned to the wall:

“You will have an artist for your neighbor,” said the janitor, “though he is not much here of late; he seems to be getting rather shiftless; he is wasting his time over some silly invention—a machine by which he expects to send messages from one place to another. He is a very good painter, and might do well if he would only stick to his business; but, Lord!” he added, with a sneer of contempt, “the idea of telling by a little streak of lightning what a body is saying at the other end of it! His friends think he is crazy on the subject, and are trying to dissuade him from it; but he persists in it until he is almost ruined.”

This shiftless man was then the president of the National Academy of Design (whose foolish waste of time so excited the commiseration of the janitor), since world-wide known as the inventor of the electric telegraph; but a little while after this his fame was such that these unbelievers, who thought him insane, were forced to believe that there was, at least, “method in his madness.”

From the greater publicity of the exhibition of his electric apparatus last above referred to, the date of Morse’s invention has by some been given as of the autumn of 1837; whereas, the single instrument was operated successfully in 1835, and the general conception of the idea was made known in 1832.

Mr. Morse first applied to Congress at the session of 1837-’38, asking of that body for aid to construct an experimental line from Washington to Baltimore, to show the practicability and utility of his invention. Although its operation before a committee of that body excited much interest, yet there was so much doubt as to its usefulness, if it even proved all the inventor claimed for it, that there was a strong apprehension, if a favorable report was presented, that a majority of Congress would not vote the sum necessary for its test. Thus this Congress adjourned without any favorable result for Mr. Morse’s

efforts. He now visited both England and France, hoping to enlist attention in its favor ; but no exclusive privilege could there be gained, or any remuneration for his invention. He returned home down-spirited, but not without faith in ultimate success. Four years more of struggle passed, with much persistent effort before Congress; the session of 1842-'43 had nearly closed, and he had retired late on the evening of its last day to his lodgings, despairing of any favorable action in his behalf, expecting to leave for home the next day ; but, on the morning of March 4, 1843, he was cheered and surprised by the report that the desired aid by Congress had been obtained at the midnight hour of the expiring session, placing \$30,000 at his disposal for an experimental line, to be run as proposed, from Washington to Baltimore. The work was completed in 1844, and fairly demonstrated to the world both the practicability and utility of his system of electro-magnetic telegraph.

At this day, in 1872, there are no doubt more than 100,000 miles of these telegraph lines in operation throughout the different countries in the world.

Honors from nearly all civilized countries have been awarded him. In 1848 Yale college conferred on him the complimentary degree of LL. D. ; and in the same year he received the decoration of the Nishan Iftichar, set in diamonds, from the Sultan of Turkey. Gold medals of scientific merit were awarded him by the King of Prussia (set in a massive gold snuff-box), the King of Wurtemberg, and the Emperor of Austria. From the Emperor of the French he received, in 1856, the cross of Chevalier of the Legion of Honor ; in 1857, from the King of Denmark, the cross of Knight of the Dannebrog ; and in 1858, from the Queen of Spain, the cross of the Knight Commander of the Order of Isabella the Catholic. He was also a member of many European and American scientific and art societies and academies.

A later and most distinguished honor was paid him by an honorary gratuity bestowed by several European governments, whose representatives met, at the instance of the late Emperor of the French, in Paris, to consider the best means of giving the inventor a collective testimonial. Ten States were represented, viz.: France, Russia, Sweden, Belgium, Holland, Austria, Sardinia, Tuscany, the Holy See, and Turkey. Their deliberations at two sessions resulted in a vote of 400,000 francs, as an honorary and personal reward to Mr. Morse for his useful labors.

In 1856 the telegraph companies of Great Britain united to give Mr. Morse a banquet in London, at which Mr. William Fothergill Cooke presided; and in Paris, in 1858, another banquet was given him by Americans, numbering more than one hundred, and representing almost every State in the Union. Submarine telegraphy originated also with Professor Morse, who laid the first submarine telegraph line in New York harbor in 1842, and received at the time from the American institute a gold medal for that achievement.

In a letter from Mr. Morse to the Secretary of the United States Treasury, dated, "August 10, 1843," it is believed occurs the first suggestion of the project of the Atlantic telegraph.

In October, 1837, Professor Morse filed a caveat in the patent office to secure his invention, and he obtained his patent in 1840, covering the improvements he had then made in the apparatus.

The idea of a submarine telegraph had been entertained by different parties a number of years before any successful experiment was made.

On the 18th of October, 1842, Professor Morse laid a copper wire, insulated by means of a hempen strand coated with tar, pitch, and India rubber, from Governor's island to the Battery in New York, and the next morning was beginning to receive communications through it, when the wire was caught

by the anchor of a vessel, and a large part of the line hauled on board the vessel that did the mischief, and was carried off by the sailors. Several similar tests of submarine telegraphs, both in Europe and America, gave convincing evidence that distance under water was no obstacle in the way of a successful result in transmitting messages by the electric current, provided the line could be perfectly laid from one terminus to the other. Thus the idea of a line across the Atlantic ocean, connecting Europe with America, was made to appear feasible, and a profitable enterprise. Before making the actual attempt to lay this connecting wire on the bed of the Atlantic, it was deemed a matter of prudence to test the power of the electric current and means of sending the same so great a distance, which was done by a coil of wire 2,300 miles in length, insulated with gutta-percha. Signals were passed through this extended line by the magnetic electric coils of Mr. Whitehouse, and the signals received upon the ordinary recording apparatus of Professor Morse.

Mr. Cyrus W. Field was one of the most active parties in this great enterprise. It was found on laying this lengthy submarine cable that to force the electric current such distance under water new methods were required, as it was ascertained that insulated wires acquire a new character when submerged, and instead of transmitting the current as simple conductors, they are of the nature of the Leyden jar, the gutta-percha corresponding to the glass, the inner wire to the interior coating, and the iron coating, or the fluid surrounding the cable, to the exterior conducting surface; and that, consequently, the cable must be charged throughout the entire length before any effect is produced.

Among other interesting phenomena, it was observed that the voltaic current is not transmitted so rapidly through such a conductor as the magneto-electric current; that several distinct impulses may pass in succession, at the same time, one

after the other, through the wire within certain limits without interference ; and that alternating positive and negative currents are transmitted many times more rapidly than successive impulses of the same character.

The first great line of the Atlantic cable connecting the European and American continents was commenced in 1857, and completed, August 5, 1858. After being laid, the wires were first worked by the Ruhmkorff induction coils and a Smee's battery, and afterwards with a Daniell battery ; but the current was for the most part so weak as scarcely to work the most delicate relay, susceptible to an impulse that could hardly be perceived on the tongue. The effect was indicated at the Newfoundland station by the deflection of a delicate galvanometer, and at Valentia, in Ireland, by that of the reflecting galvanometer of Professor William Thompson, the effect of which is to multiply the movement in a ray of light reflected from a mirror attached to a very delicate magnetic needle. This ray being thrown upon a surface at some distance, a movement of the needle, that is otherwise imperceptible, may be even measured upon a graduated scale. The transmitted current was, much of the time that the cable continued in action, so weak, that every expedient of this kind was necessary to render the signals perceptible.

From the first there appears to have been a defect in the part of the cable laid toward the Irish shore, which caused a temporary interruption of communication that passed between the ships engaged in laying this line, and excited much fear for the result of the enterprise, until these were renewed ; and it is generally believed that the very imperfect signals during the time they passed through it, from August 13 to September 1, were attributable to this original defect as the main cause. During this time 129 messages were sent from Valentia to Newfoundland, and 271 from August 10, in the other direction. The message from Queen Victoria to the

President of the United States, containing ninety-nine words, occupied in its transmission to Newfoundland sixty-seven minutes. Great efforts with the most powerful batteries, aided by the most scientific persons, were employed to keep the current flowing, and telegraphic communications continued, but the current ceased the 20th of October following.

This first unfortunate attempt for laying the Atlantic cable was very discouraging, and proved almost fatal to the enterprise. But Mr. Cyrus W. Field, not feeling disposed to yield to this first failure, visited England in 1862, with the design to carry out this enterprise.

He consulted Messrs. Glass & Elliott, who were the most experienced parties in both the manufacture of cables and the laying of the same. They had recently been successful in laying a cable for the French government between France and Algeria, 520 miles in length, which was then in perfect and successful working order.

This was laid in water as deep as any between Ireland and Newfoundland. They also referred to other extensive lines, particularly the one they laid under the direction of the British government, extending from Malta to Alexandria, in length 1518 miles. They expressed great confidence in their ability to construct and lay a line across the Atlantic, and were willing to risk a liberal subscription to the stock. The estimated amount of the capital required was \$3,000,000 of which, up to the year 1865, half had been subscribed, and in addition the government of the United States engaged to contribute annually the sum of \$75,000 the same to be applied to the use they might make of the line in communications, and the English government engaged for the same object in like manner \$100,000. The two governments also gave a joint guarantee of eight per cent. on the capital expended while the line works.

This cable, as manufactured, was 2,600 miles in length,

and one and one eighth inches in diameter; the whole weight being over 5,000 tons. The connection with the shore was made, and the laying commenced, July 1, same year, and continued until 1,062 miles had been run, and 1,186 miles of cable payed out, when, through some defect, it parted, the end sank to the bottom, and after several trials to grapple it (at a depth to the ocean bed of 15,000 feet) had proved unavailing, the job was abandoned until the ensuing year.

A new cable was constructed, in length 2730 nautical miles, part of which was designed to complete the cable of 1865.

After making fast the new cable of 1866, having laid twenty-seven and a half miles in shoal water, and making all necessary preparations, the fleet of vessels used for laying the same (among them the *Great Eastern*) commenced paying out on July 13, at 3.20 o'clock, P. M., and on Friday, July 27, at 8 o'clock, A. M., the squadron arrived off Heart's Content, Trinity Bay, Newfoundland, the distance run being 1,660 miles, and length of cable payed out 1,864 miles, showing a total slack of about eleven per cent. On the same day the end of the cable was brought to the shore by the ship *Medway*, and Mr. Field telegraphed intelligence of the completion of the work to President Johnson, as follows :

“HEART'S CONTENT, Friday, July 27, 1866.

“To His Excellency PRESIDENT JOHNSON, Washington.

“SIR: The Atlantic cable was successfully completed this morning. I hope that it will prove a blessing to England and the United States, and increase the intercourse between our own country and the Eastern hemisphere.

“Yours faithfully,

“CYRUS W. FIELD.”

The fleet and company which had laid this cable of 1866, now turned its attention to the lost cable of 1865, and succeeded on August 10, in finding its location and grappling it; but it was not until it had been raised several times nearly to the

surface, that it was finally secured and held, to be connected with the new cable that had been made and brought to complete the entire line. Finally, September 1, several of the vessels had grappled it, and each succeeded in raising it up from its bed, while the *Great Eastern* brought the end on board. A splice was effected in latitude $51^{\circ} 52' 20''$, and longitude $35^{\circ} 5' 20''$ on the 2d, at 6:45, A. M. The work of laying the balance of the line now commenced, and was soon successful in completing a second line. From the island of Newfoundland and through all the other intermediate waters the cable had previously been laid, making a complete connection with the main-land, thus furnishing, in 1866, two lines of communication between the two continents.

It has been estimated that not less than \$6,000,000 were expended at the time of laying and completing the two lines.

ABIEL HOLMES, D. D., LL. D.

Dr. Holmes was the son of Dr. David Holmes, a surgeon in the French war, and on the breaking out of the war of the Revolution was again engaged in that capacity, and served four years.

He was born in Woodstock, December 24, 1763. Died in Cambridge, Massachusetts, June 4, 1837. He was at the age of sixteen when his father died, in 1779, a graduate of Yale college in 1783, and for a time tutor in that institution, while prosecuting his studies in theology.

Having closed his studies at New Haven, he became the minister for a religious society in the parish of Midway, in Georgia, in the year 1785, where he remained till compelled by ill-health to resign his pastorate in 1791.

In the preceding year he had married Mary, daughter of President Stiles, of Yale college, who died, August 29, 1795. He was installed as pastor of the first religious society at Cambridge, January 25, 1792, which charge he held till Septem-

ber 26, 1832. On the death of President Stiles he received his large collection of manuscripts, containing researches upon many subjects. From the careful examination of these papers Dr. Holmes wrote and published the life of Dr. Stiles, in 1798.

The examination of these manuscripts led his mind in the way of gathering up historical facts relating to America.

The continuation of these researches enabled him to publish "The Annals of America," the first edition in two volumes 8vo, at Cambridge, in 1805, which has since maintained its place as the leading authority in American history. This was published in England in 1813, and republished in an enlarged edition in this country in 1829.

He was an active member of the Massachusetts Historical society, and among the valuable researches in this behalf are his "Memoirs of the Huguenot Settlement at Oxford," published in the third volume of the second series of the "Collections" of that society in 1830.

He married, for his second wife, in 1800, Sarah, daughter of the Hon. Oliver Wendell, of Boston; and among the three children by this marriage is Oliver Wendell Holmes, M. D., a physician and poet, born at Cambridge, Massachusetts, August 29, 1809; a graduate of Harvard college in 1829; visited Europe, traveling extensively there in 1832 and some years following; and gave attendance at various hospitals at Paris and other cities.

He received the degree of M. D. in 1836, and in 1838 was chosen professor of anatomy and physiology in Dartmouth college. On the resignation of Dr. J. C. Warren in 1847, he was elected to fill the same office in the medical department of Harvard college. As a poet and humorous writer he is scarcely equaled; while his writings upon medical science have been numerous and of much value. Dr. O. W. Holmes married the daughter of Charles Jackson, Esq., late of Boston, where he makes it his home. Here is again exhibited

the succession of intellectual ability, through three successive generations, of superior quality.*

JOHN MARCY.

This Mr. Marcy was one of the first planters and founders of Woodstock, and is the great ancestor of the Hon. William Learned Marcy, late Governor of New York.

This family will be more particularly referred to in connection with the historical sketch of Southbridge.

JOHN CHANDLER AND JOHN CHANDLER, JR.

These names appear among the founders of Woodstock, as influential in its affairs. There is no one name connected with the history of this town, from its origin to the present time, that has sustained itself more creditably than that of Chandler. While there has no one of the name shown conspicuously brilliant, they have, through all the entire period, been prominent and influential citizens. It has often represented this town in the Colonial legislatures of both Massachusetts and Connecticut, and one of the first to represent the town in the latter colony, when it passed to that jurisdiction.

In the formation of the county of Worcester this name stands honorably connected with the first organization of its judicial affairs.†

John Chandler was one of the first justices of the court of

* The great ancestor of the family of Holmes in Woodstock was John Holmes, one of the first planters here. The records of the town show that he married Hannah Newell, April 9, 1690; certified to by Rev. Josiah Dwight, their first minister.

† The county of Worcester was formed by an act of the Legislature of Massachusetts, passed, April 2, 1731, as follows: "That the towns of Worcester, Lancaster, Westborough, Shrewsbury, Southborough, Leicester, Rutland, and Lunenburg, all in the county of Middlesex; Mendon, Woodstock, Oxford, Sutton, including Hassanamisco, Uxbridge, and the land lately granted to several petitioners of Medfield, all in the county of Suffolk; Brookfield, in the county of Hampshire; and the South town, laid out to the Narraganset soldiers; and all other lands lying within the said townships, with the inhabitants thereon,—shall from and after the 10th day of July, which will be in the year of our Lord one thousand and thirty-one, be a county by the name of Worcester."

Common Pleas, and his son, clerk of the same court; the other justices of this court, at this time, were Joseph Wilder, of Lancaster, William Ward, of Southborough, and William Jennison, of Worcester,* and Daniel Gookin,† sheriff.

In the year 1754, John Chandler, Junior, who had, from the first establishing of the Common Pleas court here, been the clerk, was now appointed judge, and by a new organization of this court in 1757, he was the chief, with Edward Hartwell, Thomas Steel, and Timothy Ruggles, as associates.

Judge Chandler held this office till 1762, when he resigned, after being connected with the Common Pleas court of the county of Worcester thirty-one years. This Mr. Chandler was also clerk of the court of General Sessions of the Peace for this county, from its first organization in 1731 to 1751, twenty years.

It also appears that John Chandler, Senior, of Woodstock, was also the first judge of probate for the county of Worcester, and John Chandler, Junior, was the first register of probate.

The descendants of this family have held office under this county almost continuously in some of the departments, a large portion of the time since its incorporation in 1731, and there are descendants now residing in Worcester of much distinction.

In August, 1735, Governor Belcher, with the members of his council on their way to Albany, to hold a conference with the Iroquois (Six Nations), called at Worcester; the justices of

* At the first session of this court, August 10, 1731, the Rev. John Prentice, of Lancaster, preached a sermon from the text, II Chronicles, chap. xix, 6th and 7th verses: "And said to the judges, take heed what you do; for ye judge not for man, but for the Lord, who is with you in the judgment. Wherefore now, let the fear of the Lord be upon you, take heed and do it; for there is no iniquity with the Lord our God, nor respect of persons, nor taking of gifts."

† This Daniel Gookin was grandson of Major General Daniel Gookin, the chairman of the committee of the General Court, who made the first report in favor of granting a town in this middle place, in the way between Boston and Springfield. Mr. Gookin held this office till his decease in 1743.

the General Sessions, with other citizens, waited upon him. Their complimentary address to the governor is preserved, as follows :

“May it please your Excellency, we, his Majesty’s Justices of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, now holden at this place for the county of Worcester, by adjournment, humbly beg leave to congratulate your Excellency’s safe arrival in this part of your government.” It is with hearts full of joy that we now see your Excellency’s face, together with his honorable council, in the shire town of this county, which has received its being and constitution by the favor of your Excellency under the Divine conduct and benediction, and by whose wise, mild, and just administration this whole province enjoys great quietness, which we trust will be continued and accepted in all places, and in all thankfulness. We are also sensibly affected that your Excellency has condescended, and is now pursuing, a very necessary, although a very tedious journey to visit the Western frontiers, and meet with the Cagnawaga Indians and such tribes as may be desirous to renew their friendship with this government, in order to preserve and perpetuate the happy peace established with them. May your Excellency and the honorable gentlemen of the council, and such of the honorable House of Representatives as attend you, be compassed with Divine favor as with a shield, and in due time return in safety to your respective habitations.”

The Hon. John Chandler having read this address in the above language, his excellency was pleased to return the following answer :

“Gentlemen: I thank you very kindly for the welcome you give me with the honorable gentlemen of his Majesty’s council, and the gentlemen of the House of Representatives, into this part of his Majesty’s province.

“I take this opportunity of assuring you that I shall always cheerfully join my power with yours, that justice and judgment may flourish in the county of Worcester, which will greatly contribute to the happiness and welfare of the people.”

During the French war, and the capture of Louisburg and Cape Breton, as well as the French wars running from 1754 to 1762, officers by the name of Morse, Chandler, Holmes, Marcy, McClellan, Lyon, and Manning were in the field, and, as Woodstock was the oldest town, and at this time the most

wealthy and populous in this interior of New England, its quota of men for both the French and Revolutionary wars exceeded that of any other town in this section of the country.

After the campaign conducted by Colonel William Johnson and General Phineas Lyman against the French in the summer of 1755, commanded by Baron Dieskau, as referred to in another place, Captain Israel Putnam, who, with a company of men raised in Woodstock and Pomfret, had participated with honor in that campaign, was ordered to raise a company of men to hold possession of Fort Edward during the ensuing winter of 1755-'56.

The following are the names of the officers and soldiers that composed that command, which, at the request of this writer, were furnished from the State archives of Connecticut by the State librarian, the Hon. Charles J. Hoadley.

A roll of Captain Israel Putnam's company in garrison at Fort Edward, December 5, 1755.

The names, time of enlistment, and date of their discharge, are given in the roll, as follows :

Names.	Time of Enlisting.	Discharged.
Captain Israel Putnam	November 25, 1755	May 30, 1756.
Lieutenant Nathaniel Porter	" "	April 26 "
" Henry Chapin	" "	" 29 "
Sergeant Henry Pearson	" 24 "	May 24 "
" Peter Leavens	" 25 "	" 24 "
" Peleg Sunderland	December 10 "	April 26 "
" William Manning	November 25 "	May 30 "
Corporal David Cleaveland	" 25 "	" 30 "
" Nathan Hale	" 26 "	" 30 "
" David Whitmore	" 24 "	" 30 "
" Thomas Lyon	" 25 "	April 6 "
Drummer Nathan Bacon	" 25 "	May 30 "
Clerk Isaac Dean	" 25 "	" 30 "
Soldier Robert Austin	" 25 "	April 4 "
" Matthew Davis	" 25 "	May 30 "
" Daniel Isham	" 24 "	" 30 "

Names.	Time of Enlisting.	Discharged.
Soldier Micajah Torry	November 24, 1755,	April 4, 1756.
“ Eliphalet Carpenter	“ 25 “	May 30 “
“ Samuel White	“ 25 “	“ 30 “
“ Littlefield Nash	“ 25 “	“ 30 “
“ Jeremiah Jackson	“ 25 “	“ 30 “
“ Peter Bowen	“ 25 “	“ 30 “
“ Timothy Harrington	“ 25 “	“ 30 “
“ Giles Harris	“ 25 “	“ 30 “
“ Ebenezer Cary	“ 24 “	“ 30 “
“ John Austin	“ 25 “	April 9 “
“ Aaron Dewey	“ 24 “	May 30 “
“ John Waters	“ 25 “	“ 29 “
“ Eli Lewis	“ 24 “	“ 23 “
“ Samuel Horton	“ 26 “	“ 30 “
“ Ezekiel White	“ 24 “	April 21 “
“ Robert Newell	“ 24 “	May 29 “
“ Samuel Webb	“ 24 “	“ 29 “
“ Gideon Webb	“ 24 “	“ 29 “
“ Solomon Mack	“ 24 “	“ 29 “
“ Zaccheus Crow	“ 24 “	“ 29 “
“ Roger Crow	“ 24 “	“ 28 “
“ Charles Biles	“ 23 “	“ 30 “
“ Edward Tryon	“ 24 “	“ 29 “
“ Edad Parson	“ 25 “	“ 29 “
“ Stephen Pease	“ 24 “	March 20 “
“ Wareham Pease	“ 24 “	“ 20 “
“ Thomas Brigdon	“ 26 “	“ 29 “
“ James Hartford	“ 25 “	“ 29 “
“ Thomas Eddy	“ 25 “	“ 20 “
“ George Gregory	“ 25 “	“ 24 “
“ John Metcalf	“ 24 “	January 23, 1756.
“ John Philips	“ 25 “	December 25, 1755.
“ John Hutchinson	“ 24 “	January 22, 1756.
“ Benjamin Shipman	“ 24 “	February 7, 1756.

The inhabitants of Woodstock will recognize this list of names as being chiefly from that town.

There is scarcely a name among the founders of Woodstock that has not come down to the present time with honor, either by their own acts or those of their descendants.

Henry and John Bowen are found among the first planters. This name, through all the history of the town, has held a high position, frequently as representatives in the Colonial legislature, and since in the State, and through the French and Revolutionary wars, as well as in the affairs of town, and religious societies.

But while we refer to those of the past, it is proper here to mention one of the present day, who is doing so much for the benefit and advancement of this ancient place.

Whoever may have visited this Puritan town a quarter of a century or more since, and witnessed the change of appearance since that period, particularly the old south village, must have discovered great improvements, indicating wisdom, combined with artistic taste.

Formerly, the old south village, located on the hill at what has sometimes been called "South Woodstock," presented to the eye a broad, naked, common ground, descending southerly, without a tree or shrub to break the general monotony of the place; while the surrounding dwellings and the meeting-house, all painted white, afforded but little contrast to what is generally seen in common-place country villages, that have lost much of the little life and energy that once there prevailed.

The little hotel and store was at the north part of this common ground, and near to it stood the academy structure, erected in 1801; and when beheld at the former period here referred to, had the dilapidated appearance of age, like most things and places that betoken the absence of the owner; but now all this is changed: instead of the broad, naked, common ground, may be seen some beautiful parks, displaying fine cut lawns, with many ornamental shade-trees, and the grounds supplied with nicely-arranged asphaltum walks, with here and there, artistically placed, elegant flowering shrubs and plants; while the old, dilapidated academy has been rejuvenated,

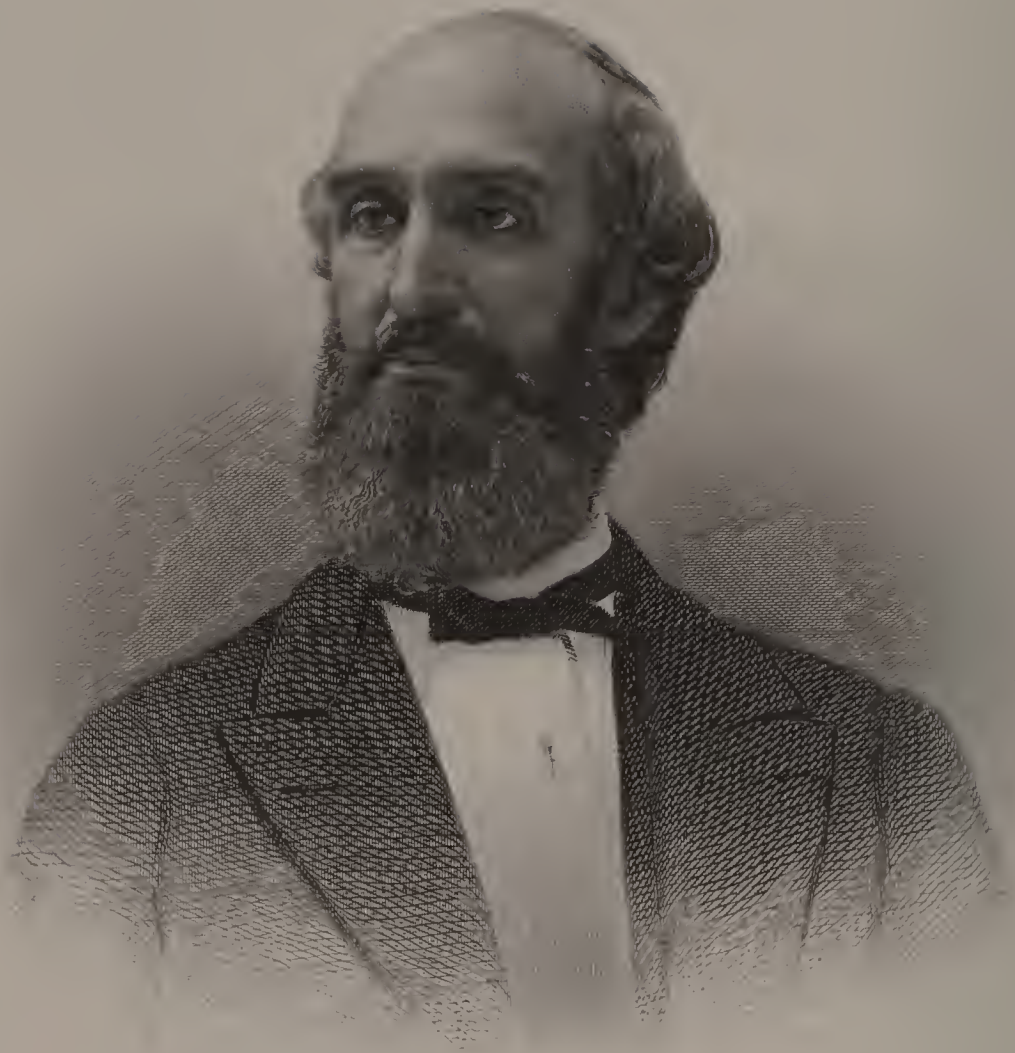
being well painted, and at this time showing a good state of prosperity, by the number of about 100 students, with a large new structure in process of erection near to, for' academic purposes, of a capacity for 250 or more scholars.

The writer, on visiting this old parish village in the summer of 1872, having last before seen it about thirty years since, was agreeably surprised at the change that had taken place, relieving it from a barren monotony in its general appearance, that bore evidence of decay, and giving the whole landscape in view that of great beauty and thrift.

The natural impulse was to learn what had been the moving cause to produce such a marked change in this staid old place. On the first view, at this time, when coming upon the hill of this village, the thought was that a mistake had been made in taking the road that led here, and that we had rode in another direction, but seeing the old academy, that idea proved groundless, as it was plainly seen that we had come to the place we designed.

By inquiry, it was ascertained that Mr. Henry C. Bowen, a native, after an absence of many years, and accumulating an ample fortune, returned some years since, and now makes this village his summer residence, and by way of amusement, has occupied his leisure hours here, by expending a portion of his income to give beauty, comfort, and prosperity to the place of his childhood and youth. Many thousands of dollars have been expended for this object. Beautiful parks and thousands of trees are seen as a part of these labors and expenditures, while his spacious mansion, finely adjusted grounds, with trees, shrubs, plants, gardens, and lawns, about the same, are evidences of good taste as well as liberality.

The present condition of the old academy, and the erection of the spacious new structure for academic purposes, before referred to, have been principally the result of his capital and influence.



Henry C. Bowen

HENRY C. BOWEN.

This Mr. Bowen, son of George Bowen, and his wife Lydia Wolcott Eaton, who was a daughter of Dr. John Eliot Eaton, of Dudley, in the line of descent from Rev. John Eliot, the apostle to the Indians, and Henry Wolcott, one of the founders of Connecticut, was born at Woodstock, September 11, 1813. His father was a merchant, and many years the postmaster of this town ; justice of the peace, possessing a handsome estate, and enjoyed the confidence and respect of his townsmen, and those of the vicinity generally. The subject of this notice was his oldest son, who, having closed his school days at the age of fifteen years, entered his father's store as clerk, and assistant postmaster ; he was soon intrusted with the responsibility of purchasing the supplies for the store, many of which, for the dry goods department, were bought in New York of Arthur Tappan & Co., where young Bowen, from his activity and business qualities, attracted the attention of the head of this noted establishment, who addressed a letter to his father with a request for his son to enter as a clerk in their business, then the most extensive silk and fancy goods importing and jobbing house in the country. This request being granted, Mr. Bowen, at the age of twenty, became installed in the silk department, the most important branch of Mr. Tappan's business, under a five years' clerkship, at an average salary of \$500 per annum. He soon became chief manager of this most important section, and the exclusive buyer in this branch under his charge.

At the close of this clerkship, Mr. Lewis Tappan, a partner in the house, informed Mr. Bowen of the idea he had entertained of forming a new house in the same line of business, and proposed to him to join as a partner ; but the general principle which Mr. Tappan desired to incorporate into the new firm—that of giving away for benevolent and other

objects, annually, a stated per cent. of the profits, being regarded as objectionable, and furthermore a preference for having a house exclusively under his own control, led him to decline this offer. This rejection of Mr. Lewis Tappan's friendly advance toward him did not cause that friendship to be withdrawn, as Mr. Tappan at once offered to befriend him in arranging for a new house, and introduced Mr. John Rankin, a wealthy silk merchant, who had proposed to furnish capital for Tappan and Bowen had that connection been formed. He at once extended the like offer to Mr. Bowen for such a house as he might deem best to form ; thus being provided with the means for business, he invited a fellow-clerk, Mr. Theodore McNamee, to join, with Mr. Rankin as special partner, under the name of Bowen & McNamee ; when Mr. Lewis Tappan decided to remain in the old house of Arthur Tappan & Co.

This connection was for five years, which proved very profitable, when Mr. Rankin withdrew, receiving his share of the profits, with the money advanced, and Bowen & McNamee continued the business to the year 1857, when this firm was dissolved, and a new firm, styled Bowen, Holmes & Co., was formed, which continued until the beginning of the late Rebellion, when, in consequence of heavy losses, Mr. Bowen decided to withdraw from the dry goods trade. He settled the affairs of the firm, and embarked in the publishing of newspapers, to which a considerable amount of the late firm's funds had been previously engaged. This was in connection with the well-known paper, styled the *Independent*, which now came under Mr. Bowen's personal management, and, as a profitable enterprise, has been a great success. In 1869 he bought the entire establishment of the Brooklyn *Daily Union*.

Two sons of Mr. Bowen, then engaged in Wall street, New York, were admitted partners in this new enterprise. Mr. Bowen gives his morning labors to the Brooklyn paper,

and the afternoon to the *Independent*, both exhibiting a high degree of prosperity, giving ample evidence of activity and skill in their management.

Mr. Bowen possesses, in a large degree, self-reliance and independence of thought and action, and these may be considered his chief characteristics, united with great activity and industry.

It is not surprising that this independence of thought and action should occasionally cause unkind feeling with some who differ with him in their business, religious, and political sentiments. Previous to the late Rebellion, many of the business men of New York who were largely engaged in the Southern trade, were disposed to yield to pro-slavery ideas ; and, knowing that Mr. Bowen had a large trade in that section, though advocating and supporting the anti-slavery party, remonstrated with him, and endeavored to have him be less severe in his denunciations in that respect, when he made that well-known but characteristic reply, " My goods are for sale, but not my principles."

Mr. Bowen may be regarded as a prominent type of Puritanism in his religious sentiments, tempered with modern ideas, being an orthodox Congregationalist, and has done much to sustain that religious denomination. He has the honor of being the first to suggest the idea of church-building associations.

This suggestion was made at a convention of Congregationalists held at Albany, many years since, when he was a delegate to that body, having been selected with a view to bring forward this object at that convention, from the fact of his advocating the church-building question.

At first, the idea was opposed by the committee for regulating the business to be acted upon by the convention, as impracticable ; but, by his persistent and sanguine efforts in its favor, this question was entered among the list of business to be brought forward in this convention for discussion.

When brought up in the regular course before this body it at first met with a cold reception, but the same unyielding effort was now made before the convention as before the committee, whom he had induced to enter it upon their list of business.

As a test of his firmness of belief in the utility of this measure, and his boldness in sustaining his views, he proposed at once to contribute \$10,000, provided \$50,000 should be raised, to be known as the "Church-Building Fund." This step produced the desired effect: the vote was unanimous in its favor; an amount exceeding the gross sum proposed was soon raised, and the church-building fund system established, which has since become a prominent measure with nearly all religious denominations.

Mr. Bowen's liberality and influence has extended to various objects. Several banks and insurance companies have been created by his efforts, besides his ardent support of objects of a religious and educational character.

In his native town he has recently appropriated \$5,000 for land for a park, and is expending his funds liberally in introducing driveways and paths, besides doing many things for ornamentation.

Some of the other distinguished names here are those of May, Lyon, Child, Payne, Bacon, Corbin, and McClellan. Of the latter, John and James McClellan's families held a high position here many years, and some of their descendants have been persons of distinction in other parts of the country. Dr. George McClellan, son of James, of this town, became a very distinguished surgeon in Philadelphia, and his son, H. B. McClellan, now of Boston, is a doctor of medicine of considerable reputation; while his brother, General George B. McClellan, sustains a distinguished position in military science and civil engineering throughout the country.

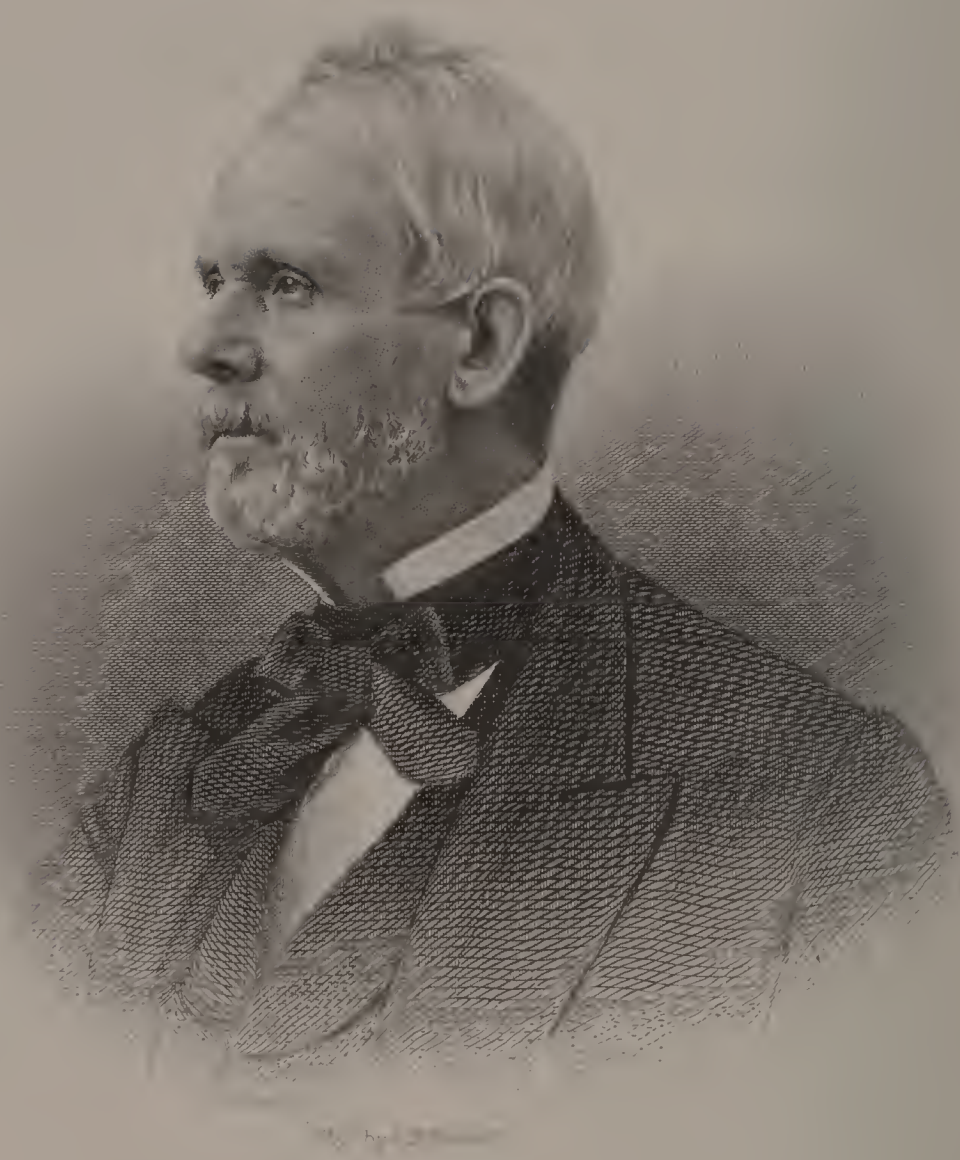
General Nathaniel Lyon, born at Ashford, who lost his life

in the battle of Wilson's Creek, in the south-west part of Missouri, August 11, 1861, in the beginning of the Rebellion, was a descendant from the Lyon family of Woodstock. His ability as a military officer was of a high order, and his management of military affairs in Missouri exhibited such promptness and sagacity that it was due to him more than any other person that Missouri was prevented from becoming a secession State, and retained on the side of the Union.

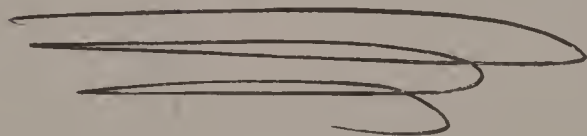
Among the name of Child there may be mentioned Colonel Chester Child, Peter Child, Deacon Luther Child, and his son, Rev. Willard Child, D. D., now of Norwich; also, the late Rensalier Child, noted as surveyor and conveyancer, and his sons, Peleg, the Hon. Asa Child, and Hon. Linus Child. The latter will again be referred to in another place.

In referring again to the village of the south parish it may be added to what has been before remarked, that the surrounding landscape, as viewed from the hill, and particularly as seen from what is called "Sunset Hill," is one of great beauty, exhibiting ponds, rivulets, hills, and valleys, with an extensive range of highly-cultivated fields, interspersed with occasional forests, and many farm-houses, besides here and there the spire of a meeting-house, all giving evidence of quietness, good neighborhood, and prosperity. A view of greater or equal beauty it would be difficult to find.

The chief occupation of the inhabitants here is farming; that of manufacturing and mechanical enterprise is only to a moderate extent; but nowhere can be found a more equal distribution of property, less poverty, or fewer instances of large estates; where the masses are good liver, prosperous and happy in the condition that has come down to them from past generations, preserving their social status more free from foreign admixture than is found in towns generally in New England.



P. C. Bacon



DUDLEY.

SECTION IV.

CHAPTER I.

AN act for making a new town in the county of Worcester by the name of Dudley :

“ *Whereas*, There are many inhabitants in a tract of land lying between the towns of Woodstock and Oxford, in the county of Worcester, who, together with others lately settled in the south-west part of Oxford, and very remote from any place of public worship of God, are very conveniently situated for a town, and have petitioned this court to be erected into a separate township, accordingly,

“ *Be it enacted*, By his excellency, the Governor, the Council, and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, that all the lands lying within the bounds following, viz., the colony or Patent Line and the town of Woodstock on the south; the grant lately made to Medfield on the west; the land of Mr. Papillon on the north, unto the farm belonging to Paul Dudley; Esq.; and by the same partly on the east, until it comes to Stony Brook; and by said brook till it comes to the brook coming out of Chabana-konkamon Pond; and by the pond to the said colony or Patent Line,—be and hereby is set off and constituted a distinct and separate township by the name of Dudley. And that the inhabitants of the said township be vested with the powers, privileges, and immunities that the inhabitants of any of the towns of this province by law are or ought to be vested with.”*

Included within the limits of this grant for Dudley was a part of the tract of land selected by the descendants of the ancient Nipmuck Indians, which they reserved in their deeds

* December, 1731. See State Library Acts, 1692 to 1740.

to the agents of the province, dated, "February 10, 1681," as given in another part of this work. Having the right of selection from the lands thus deeded, a quantity equal to the contents of "*five miles square*," they located these lands extending west from the borders of Chabanakongkamon pond.

These lands were surveyed out to these Indians in October, 1684, and extended from said pond some distance west of what has since been known as *Dudley Hill*, including all that part, now the center village; and, as stated in the historical sketch of the Congregational church, that church and society received from these Indians "four acres of this land for the location of their meeting-house, and other public purposes."

This tract of Indian land was known for many years after the grants for Oxford and Woodstock, as the "Land of Black James and Company." Black James was a distinguished Indian among the people of this tribe. He is mentioned by General Gookin in his description of the several towns of these natives, called *Praying Indians*, which he, as the Indian agent of the province, refers to in describing his tour among them in the autumn of 1674, when accompanying the Rev. John Eliot on his missionary visits to them.

The greater part of these Indian lands were sold, before the town of Dudley was granted, to the Hon. Joseph Dudley, who was also the chief owner, by grants from the province, of most of the other lands included in the said grant; all of which at the time of Mr. Dudley's decease, April 2, 1720, became the property of his sons.

These sons, Chief-Justice Paul Dudley and the Hon. William Dudley, soon after the decease of their father, opened these lands for sale. Their location between two thriving towns made them desirable for new settlements. The deeds of these early sales, beginning in 1721, are found recorded upon the records of Suffolk county, at Boston.

This tract, also Woodstock, Oxford, and New Medfield,

which subsequently became Sturbridge, was a part of Suffolk county, till set off to form a part of the county of Worcester, in 1731.

It does not appear that Governor Dudley sold any part of these lands during his life. He and his friend, the Hon. William Stoughton, were the principal owners of all this territory; and, as there has not been seen on record any deeds from Mr. Stoughton of these lands, it is presumed that, like Mr. Dudley, he never made any sales, but left them to his heirs or for educational purposes, as a part of the lands he left by his *will* for that object.

Governor Dudley, it has been shown by the historical sketch of Oxford, owned 6,000 acres in that grant, which, as appears by the deed of allotment, was at the south-west corner of the same, adjoining this grant for the town of Dudley, and which, at the time this grant was made, is described as the land of Mr. Papillon, and, by the history of Southbridge, is shown to be a large portion of her territory, covering much of her center village.

The earliest conveyance of land in this grant that has been noticed (which is found recorded in the county of Suffolk records), is a deed from William Dudley, of Roxbury, to John Healy, of the same town, described as lying south of Oxford, date 1721, book 38, page 96 ; and a deed from same party to Jonas Clark the same year. Also, among the names of purchasers about this time are Philip Newell, William Ward, Benjamin Newell, Nathaniel Ramsdell, Samuel Newell, Joseph Putney, Clement Corbin, Benjamin Sabin, Joseph Sabin, Daniel Williams, Joseph and Ebenezer Edmonds, and some others, during the period from 1721 to 1729. After this period the settlers came in more numerous, when, in 1731, a petition was presented to the General Court for a grant for a township.

After the act of incorporation had been granted, an order

was asked for giving the inhabitants, residents of the grant, authority for organizing the town, which was given as follows:

“HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, June 1, 1732.

“*Ordered*, That Joseph Edmonds, one of the principal inhabitants of the town of Dudley, be directed to improve, notify, and summon the inhabitants of the town of Dudley, qualified to vote, to assemble and meet together, some time in the present month of June, for the choice of town officers, to stand until the next annual election, according to law; any law, usage, or custom to the contrary notwithstanding.

“J. QUINCY, *Speaker*.

“Read and concurred, “J. WILLARD, *Secretary*.

“Consented to, “JONATHAN BELCHER, *Governor*.”

The warrant by Joseph Edmonds, summoned the inhabitants qualified to vote, to meet at the house of William Carter, June 20, 1732, to vote for all the necessary officers for organizing the town, as by law is required, when officers were elected, and other business was transacted, as follows:

“NAMES OF OFFICERS ELECTED.

“For <i>Moderator</i> ,	-	-	-	-	Joseph Edmonds.
“ <i>Selectmen</i> ,	-	-	-	-	{ Joseph Edmonds, Ebenezer Edmonds, James Corbin, George Robinson, John Lilly.
“ <i>Town Clerk</i> ,	-	-	-	-	John Lilly.
“ <i>Constable</i> ,	-	-	-	-	Joseph Putney.
“ <i>Fence Viewers</i> ,	-	-	-	-	{ John Healy, Clement Corbin.
“ <i>Tything-Men</i> ,	-	-	-	-	{ Jonathan Newell, Benjamin Conant.
“ <i>Hog Reeves</i> ,	-	-	-	-	{ David Southwick, Joseph Wakefield.
“ <i>Treasurer</i> ,	-	-	-	-	Jonathan Newell.”

The second meeting was held the 29th instant, following.

“For *Moderator*, - | - | - | - | James Corbin.” |

It was then voted to have a minister, and to raise the

money for his support by a tax upon improved lands and stock; and that William Carter's house be the place to meet to hear the Gospel preached.

The selectmen were authorized to procure a minister; Jonathan Newell was appointed to set the Psalms in the public worship; and that Joseph Payson should be the man to read the Psalms.

In further pursuance of the business of this meeting, it was voted that William Carter's barn-yard be the pound; and that William Carter be the pound-keeper, provided the selectmen procure him a lock.

It was then decided that the meeting-house be set on the west end of William Carter's land, near the Indians' land.

Then follows a vote, to give Rev. Isaac Richardson, the minister, £150, together with the lot of land of 100 acres, given for the minister, by the Hon. William Dudley. Besides this, it was voted that Mr. Richardson have eighty pounds salary the first year, and to increase this sum five pounds per year, until it be £100.

A vote was now passed, valuing all the land in town at twenty shillings per acre, and to remain at that value seven years; also, a committee was chosen to apply to the Legislature to permit a tax on all lands as here voted.

At this time none but improved lands could be taxed, unless so authorized by the General Court.

The town records show that the selectmen were authorized, on the 26th of February, to agree on terms with the Rev. Isaac Richardson for a settlement, and a sum for his salary.

It was also agreed that the day for his ordination, should be the first Monday in June ensuing. Twenty-five dollars was voted for the expense of the ordination; and that this service should be performed at the house of Joshua Healy. Mr. Joseph Edmonds was to provide the refreshments at his house.

The following gentlemen were the ministers selected to

be present and to assist in the service of the ordination : Rev. Mr. Thayer, of Roxbury ; Rev. John Fiske, of Killingly, Connecticut ; Rev. Ebenezer Williams, of Pomfret, Connecticut ; Rev. Mr. Jackson, of Woburn ; Rev. John Campbell, of Oxford ; Rev. Amos Throup, of Woodstock ; Rev. Martin Cabot, of Thompson, and the Rev. Solomon Prentice, of Hassanamisco (Grafton).

Notwithstanding all this preparation being made, and the council, as above called, there is no record of the ordination as appointed. It is presumed, for some cause deemed sufficient, it did not take place. On the 12th of June, 1735, Rev. Perley Howe was ordained, but was dismissed in 1743. Mr. Howe was probably their first settled minister. A vote appears on the records of the town, of May 17, 1744,

“ Appointing Thursday, the 24th next, to be held as a day of solemn fasting and prayer to God for counsel and direction in the great and important affair before us. Voted unanimously to hold a day of fasting and prayer to God for direction in the great and mighty affair of calling and settling a minister. Also voted, that Rev. John Campbell, of Oxford, Rev. Abel Stiles, of Woodstock, and Rev. Caleb Rice, of Sturbridge, be the gentlemen to carry on the work of our fast for us.”

The result was that Mr. Charles Gleason, of Brookline, Massachusetts, was selected and ordained as their pastor, October 31, 1744. A settlement of £350 was voted, a salary of £180 the first year, and to add five pounds per year, until it comes to £200. This was stipulated to be “*old tenor money*,” with the addition of twenty cords of wood. It was then voted that silver be the standard of value of the money.

Under the pastoral services of Rev. Charles Gleason (who appears to have been a man of character and good practical influence among his people), the town advanced in its number of inhabitants, and continued in the usual routine of its political affairs without any remarkable incident to notice, except the French wars and the excitement which culminated in the

war of the Revolution, till the close of the colonial period. It appears that a Baptist church had been formed here at an early date in the history of this town.

The principal members were Joseph Wakefield, Benjamin Putney, Paul Robinson, Silas Robinson, Jonathan Putney, Francis Courtis, John Courtis, William Wakefield, Jonathan Marsh, and James Coats. Their certificate, in accordance with the law favoring and exempting Anabaptists from taxes for the support of the *Standing Order*, was presented to the assessors, under date of "May 21, 1744," and entered on the records under date of "September 16, 1746." This certificate was furnished, as provided in the exemption law of 1727, and renewed from time to time, until a new exemption law was enacted in 1757. Under this latter law, in the year 1772, it appears that the town voted to excuse the Baptists from bringing in their certificates during the existence of said law, as follows: May 25, 1772,

Voted: "To excuse the persons that belong to the Baptist church from bringing their certificates to the assessors, yearly, so long as the law continues in favor of the Baptists and Quakers."

The preliminary acts of the British government, which excited the English colonists and produced the war of the Revolution, did not have much effect upon the people of Dudley until the year 1774. It appears that the committee at Boston appointed by those opposed to the Tea act (and especially the sale of teas under the direction of revenue officers appointed by the crown), in the year 1773, drafted circulars, and sent them to every town in the province, setting forth the unconstitutional character of all acts of the English Parliament in framing laws for taxing the colonies in America, on the ground of non representation.

The town of Dudley, having received one of these circulars, was requested to bring the subject before its people at a public

meeting, and to test the views of the town upon the question, the object being to unite all the towns in the province in opposition to the acts of the British Parliament tending directly or indirectly to tax the colonies.

At a town meeting, held on September 20, 1773, it was voted not to act upon the letter received from the Boston committee.

Besides the Tea act, then a decidedly objectionable law, and one that the leading men of Boston were determined not to submit to, there became public a series of letters, known as the "Hutchinson and Oliver Letters," which had been intercepted and returned to Massachusetts by Dr. Franklin, in June, 1773.

These were letters written by Governor Thomas Hutchinson and Lieutenant-Governor Andrew Oliver, confidentially, to Thomas Whately, Esq., a member of Parliament, disclosing the movements of the patriot committee, and the members in the General Court who opposed every act of Parliament designed for taxing the colonies. Mr. Whately having deceased at this time, these letters, by some means, not disclosed by Dr. Franklin, fell into his hands, and were at once by him forwarded to the above committee at Boston. This becoming known, the Legislature returned copies of these letters with a petition to the English government for the removal of these officers; but, on trial before a committee of the Privy Council, Dr. Franklin was severely dealt with by the attorney who acted in behalf of the accused, and these parties, as might have reasonably been expected, were acquitted.

These letters of Hutchinson and Oliver, informing of all opposition in New England against these movements of Parliament, were what that body most desired, and those parties who acted as their pimps would not be likely to receive censure from those they were serving.

Great efforts were now made to disgrace the character of

Dr. Franklin for disclosing what they termed private letters ; his only vindication was, that these letters were written by one set of public officers to another, touching public affairs, and thus they were not private property, but belonged to the public, who had a right to know their contents.

Notwithstanding the strong resolution and remonstrances to the British government against imposing the Tea act upon them, the tea, by several ship-loads, came forward into the port of Boston.

Finding that the design was to force these teas upon the the people against their urgent appeals to the contrary, parties in disguise boarded these ships, December 18, 1773, and discharged the whole cargoes into the harbor, no opposition being made. Similar acts were performed in several other ports in the English colonies.

This act destroying the tea, while it produced intense excitement in this country, was generally approved ; the excitement was none the less in England, but regarded in an opposite light. This news reached England on the 7th of March, 1774, and the result was the closing the port of Boston as a port of entry. The preliminary step in Parliament was the granting leave to bring in a bill,

“For the immediate removal of the officers concerned in the collection of customs from the town of Boston, in the province of Massachusetts Bay, in North America, and to discontinue the landing and shipping of goods, wares, and merchandise, at the said town of Boston, or within the harbor thereof.”

This grant was given on the 7th of March ; the bill was perfected, and passed Parliament on the 25th, and received the royal assent on the 31st of the same month.

This port bill was but a part of the stringent and humbling acts levied against the resolute actions of the leading spirits of Boston.

It did not take long to enlist the masses of the people in all

sections of the country against these stringent and oppressive measures of Parliament against colonies.

The great mass of the leading men in England were strangely ignorant of the character and condition of the American colonists, and as unwise in their measures as ignorant.

War was now inevitable; and when it began, every town and hamlet was eager to enter the contest.

The records of every town throughout the country bear ample evidence of a great similarity of sentiment upon this question.

Every town in Massachusetts followed the lead of Boston; each had its committee, styled the "Committee of Correspondence, Inspection, and Safety." This committee was chosen in Dudley, June 30, 1774, consisting as follows: Captain John Courtis, Lieutenant Timothy Foster, Joseph Vinton, Archibald Jewell, and Elisha Corbin.

On the 19th of September following, it is shown by the records that the town voted to add to the town stock of ammunition 100 pounds of powder, 400 pounds of lead, and ten dozen of flints. At the same time the town appointed Colonel Thos. Cheney, Jacob Warren, William Learned, and Ensign Jacob Chamberlain, to propose measures for our military officers. Also chose Colonel Cheney to represent the town in the Provincial Congress at Concord. This town had now entered earnestly into the spirit of the Revolution.

Another town meeting was held on the 28th of the same month, when the constable was instructed to collect the *Lists*, and keep the province money in his hands till further orders, and the town to hold him harmless. A committee was now raised "to settle and establish the minute-men."

At a meeting, held on the 17th of December, 1774, the town voted,

"To appropriate the province money in the hands of the collector to buy half a chest of guns and bayonets; to adhere to the doings of the

Grand Congress in all matters whatsoever; and to conform to the non-importation agreement."

Then chose a committee of nine :

"Major Learned, Joseph Vinton, Captain Morris, Joseph Upham, Cornet Day, Jacob Warren, Joseph Sabin, Captain Carter, and Ensign Jeffords, to see that the Grand Congress' resolves are carried into execution."

January 2, 1775, Colonel Thomas Cheney, moderator. Then chose Colonel Thomas Cheney, representative to the Provincial Congress, to be holden at Cambridge, on the 1st of February, and chose a committee to take charge of contributions for the poor of Boston and Charlestown; and the collector was directed to pay over the balance of province money to Henry Gardiner, of Stow.

May 29, 1775, Major William Learned was elected to represent the town in the Provincial Congress, to be holden at Watertown, on the 31st inst.; and on the 3d of December following, a vote was passed,

"To instruct our representative to remonstrate with the honorable Continental Congress, that inasmuch as they have raised the wages of the officers of the Continental army, and not given any further encouragement to the soldiers."

This town was not an exception in that love of country in the earnest efforts made for performing every duty that rightfully belonged to its citizens in sustaining the great struggle for independence.

It is curious to note to what extent the interior towns regarded this Revolutionary effort as a work of their own, and one that immediately concerned their own interests and future welfare.

Town meetings were frequent, at which both the acts of the Continental and Provincial Congresses were discussed and remonstrated against or opposed, accordingly as they were favored or disliked.

Up to September, 1774, it had been the custom to notify and warn all town meetings *in his majesty's name*; but, on the 12th of September, of that year, notice was directed,

“To all the freeholders and other inhabitants that are sixteen years old and upward to assemble in town meeting. But on the 27th. of September, 1776, notice was given in the name of the government and people of the State of Massachusetts Bay, to warn all the male inhabitants, except Indians and Negroes, that are twenty-one years and upward.”

This last form of notice followed immediately after the Declaration of Independence.

It appears that Colonel Thomas Cheney, who had been conspicuous in the affairs of the town, now passed from public notice, and Jedediah Marcy was the rising man, who now became frequently moderator, selectman, treasurer, and representative.

On the 17th of July, 1766, the General Court in session at Salem, the council ordered :

“That the Declaration of Independence be printed, and a copy be sent to the minister of each parish, of every religious denomination within the State, and that they severally be requested to read the same to their respective congregations as soon as Divine service is ended, in the afternoon of the first Lord's day after they shall have received it; and after such publication thereof, to deliver the said declaration to the clerk of their several towns or districts, who are hereby required to record the same in their respective town or district record books; there to remain as a perpetual memorial thereof.

“(Subscribed) in the name of the Council,

“R. DERBY, JUNIOR, *President*.

“A true copy, attest, JOHN AVERY, Deputy Clerk, Salem, Massachusetts Bay. Printed by E. Russell, by order of authority.

“Then follows the record on the books of this town, the Declaration of Independence.

“Signed, a true copy, attest,

“EDWARD DAVIS, *Clerk*.”

In the year 1776 the General Court issued circulars to the several towns in the State to ascertain the sentiments of the people upon the propriety of the Legislature, as then consti-

tuted, in proceeding to form a constitution. This town acted upon the question at their meeting, on the 30th of September, of that year.

The vote was in the negative,

“For the reason that they now looked upon it, that the State had not at this time an equal representation.”

In the year 1777 the price of labor and many articles of necessity being irregular, and in many instances exorbitant, the Legislature authorized towns to fix prices for labor, and such articles of necessity as they should judge proper.

In this town, on the 6th of March, 1777, the selectmen were authorized to establish prices in accordance with this law.

The articles named, and prices fixed for such, were as follows :

	s.	d.
“A day’s labor from middle of June to middle of August,	3	0
In the other part of summer season, - - -	2	3
In April, May, September, and October, - - -	2	4
For the remainder of the year, - - - - -	1	8

PRICES FOR ENTERTAINMENT FOR MAN AND BEAST.

For a meal of boiled or roasted victuals, - - -	1	0
“ “ common pot-luck, - - - - -	0	9
“ “ all other eating in proportion.		
A mug of good flip, made of West India rum, - - -	1	0
“ “ “ New England rum, - - -	0	9
All other liquors in proportion.		
Good lodging for the night for one person, - - -	0	3
For horse-keeping one night, or 24 hours, on best of		
English hay - - - - -	1	0
“ a yoke of oxen, same time - - - - -	1	4
“ shoeing a horse - - - - -	5	6
“ plain shoeing - - - - -	4	3
“ sharpening a plough - - - - -	0	9
All other blacksmithing in proportion.		
For wheat, 6s. 2d. per bushel ; and for rye, 4s. ; corn, 3s. ;		
white beans, 6s ; oats, 1s. 3d. ; potatoes, 1s. in the		
autumn, and in the spring, 1s. 6d. ; flax-seed, 6s. 4d. ;		
English hay, best quality, for 100 lbs. - - -	2	4
“ fresh pork, well fattened, per lb. 4d. ; clear salt pork,	0	8

	s.	d.
For best grass-fed beef, per lb. 3d. ; new milk cheese -	0	6
“ good butter, by the firkin or tub - - - -	0	10
“ good lamb, per lb. 3½d. ; tallow, 8d. ; good wool -	2	0
“ well-dressed flax, 1s. per lb. ; good stocking yarn, per lb. - - - - -	6	0
“ shoes for men, 8s. per pair ; ditto for women - -	6	0
“ best tow cloth, per yard, 36 inches wide - -	2	3
“ good yard-wide striped flannel, per yard - -	3	4
“ “ $\frac{3}{4}$ “ cotton and linsey cloth - -	3	4
“ “ $\frac{3}{4}$ “ deep blue all wool cloth - -	12	0
“ “ raw hides, per lb. 3s. ; calfskins, per lb. - -	0	6
“ “ sole leather, per lb. 1s. 4d. ; curried leather in proportion.”		

To the selectmen were added, for the above committee of appraisers, for the prevention of monopoly and oppression, as styled, the following persons : Jedediah Marcy, Edward Davis, Joseph Healy, David Keith, and Nathaniel Healy, making a committee of ten, supposed to be the first in regard to dignity of character and good practical judgment.

At their meeting on the 25th of April, 1777, twenty pounds extra allowance for soldiers was voted as a bounty for enlisting : and on the 20th of May following Major William Learned and Edward Davis were elected representatives, and the following men were appointed to draft further instructions to our representatives : Captain John Courtis, Jacob Warren, Joseph Sabin, John Haskell, and Eleazer Jackson.

November 21, 1777, a vote was passed to recommend Jedediah Marcy, Esq., “ to the honorable council, for them (if they see fit) to appoint as a justice of the peace in our town.”

August 17, 1779, Joseph Upham was elected a delegate to the convention, to meet at Cambridge, September 5, following, to assist in framing a constitution, and a committee was appointed to prepare suitable instructions for his guidance.

On the reception of the bill of rights and draft of the constitution, a town meeting was called to act upon the same, May 19, 1780.

The separate articles were taken up *seriatim*, and discussed; some were accepted, while others were amended, giving evidence that great interest was manifested in giving a thorough examination into the character and effect of each.

The votes for governor were twenty-four for John Hancock, and at same meeting \$700 was voted for the town's quota of beef; also voted to supply our quota of soldiers for the Continental army, with a bounty of £33 6s. 8d., payable quarterly during three years, and payable in silver.

The interest felt by the people of this town for doing their full share in providing their quota of soldiers and provision for carrying on the Revolutionary war, did not abate in the least, although the hardships and expense were great for them in their limited condition.

September 4, 1780, chose a committee to supply our quota of soldiers for the Continental army, and to pay the men a bounty of £33 6s. 8d., to be paid quarterly; provided they serve three years they shall be entitled to the whole sum.

On the 2d of April, £100, silver money, and on the 2d of July following, £300, silver money, was raised for supply of soldiers. A committee was chosen to arrange a plan for the settlement of debts payable in paper money. This arrangement referred to the great depreciation of paper money compared with the value of silver.

In the year 1781 the town meetings began to be warned "In the Name of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts," as the phraseology.

Peace having been restored in 1783, there was but little for many years to attract remark in the affairs of this town, beyond the ordinary management of its corporate affairs.

The movement for a parish, taking land from its west border, excited their attention. This continued at intervals from 1800, until a considerable tract of its territory was taken for a part of the land which, in 1816, formed the town of Southbridge.

But this town was more largely shorn of its territory in the forming of the town of Webster in the year 1832, taking a large tract of land from its east border. These drafts upon its territory, and building up populations and thriving towns on both sides, has affected much the business formerly attracted to its center, Dudley Hill, interposing a serious obstacle to its growth and prosperity. Its principal water-power was the two rivers; the Quinebaug, passing through its west border; and the French river, passing through the east part, now the dividing line between this town and Webster.

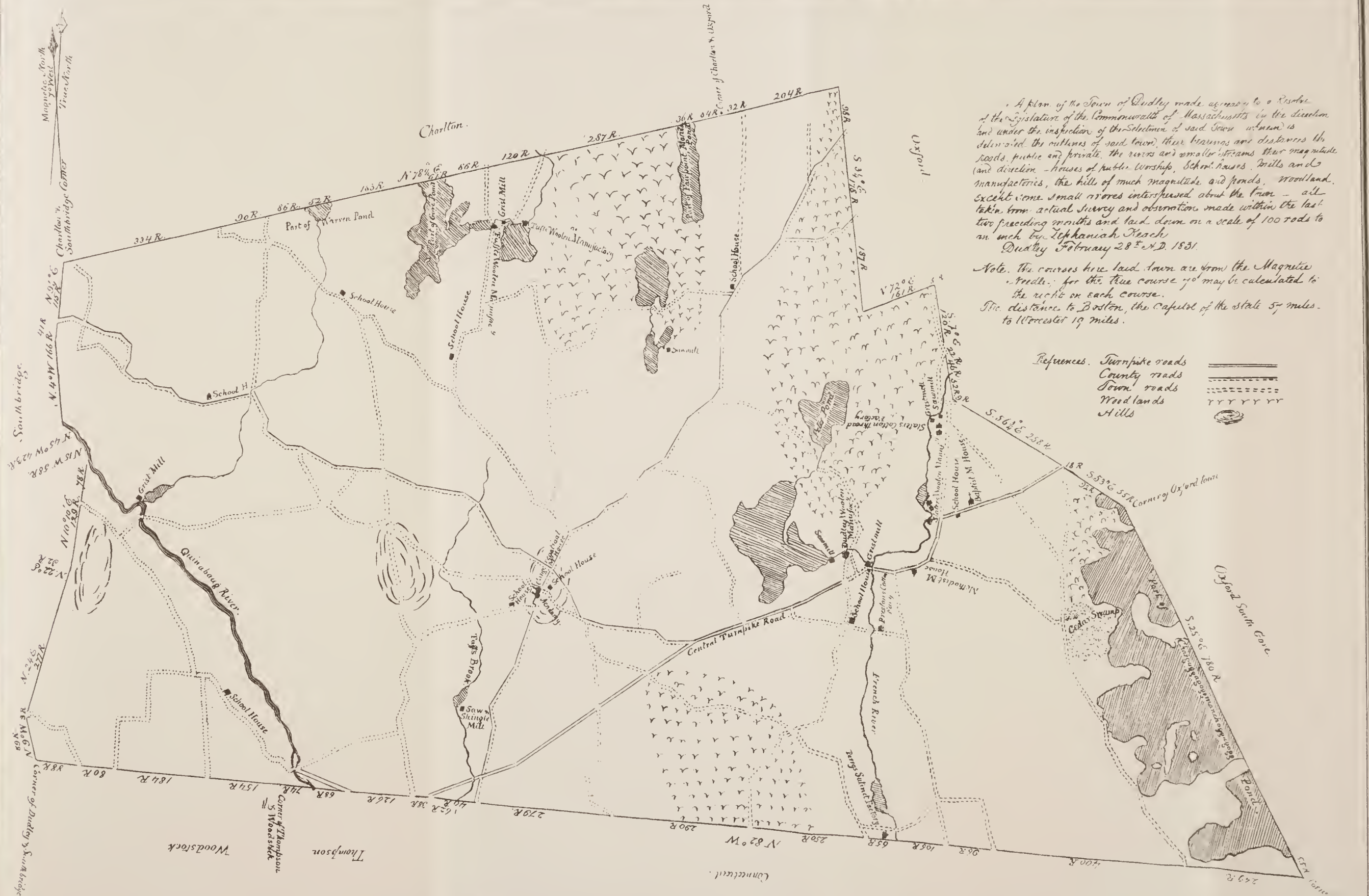
The population of Dudley is given at different periods, as follows :

In 1765, 748; in 1790, 1,114; in 1800, 1,140; in 1810, 1,226; in 1820, 1,615; in 1830, 2,155; in 1840, 1,352; in 1850, 1,446; in 1860, 1,736; in 1870, 2,388.

The territory taken for Southbridge was sparsely settled, and was not perceptibly felt, as the improvement of the water-power on the east part was fast adding to both wealth and inhabitants.

But taking this east section to aid in forming Webster was such a draft upon its resources for population, that it did not recover its former highest number of inhabitants until the census of 1870. It has a valuable water-power in the north part of its territory, which, by its improvement, did considerable in adding to its numbers; but these mills having been destroyed by fire, and not at present rebuilt, has had an effect upon its growth.

The last decade of the census, ending in 1870, has shown a marked increase in its population. This is the result of new enterprise connected with the two old manufacturing establishments on its east border; the Merino factory, formerly so-called, and that heretofore known as the Nichols factory, both having passed into new hands, and the business much enlarged.



A plan of the Town of Dudley made agreeable to a Resolution of the Legislature of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in the direction and under the inspection of the Selectmen of said Town wherein is delineated the outlines of said town, their boundaries and distances the roads, public and private, the rivers and smaller streams their magnitude (and direction) - houses of public worship, School houses, Mills and manufactures, the hills of much magnitude and ponds, woodland, except some small groves interspersed about the town - all taken from actual survey and observation made within the last two preceding months and laid down on a scale of 100 rods to an inch by Zephaniah Keach
 Dudley February 28th A.D. 1831.

Note. The courses here laid down are from the Magnetic needle; for the true course 70° may be calculated to the right on each course.
 The distance to Boston, the Capital of the State 57 miles.
 to Worcester 19 miles.

- References.
- Turnpike roads
 - County roads
 - Town roads
 - Wood lands
 - Hills

Furthermore, the water-power of the Quinebaug, within the limits of the west part of its territory, has, to some extent, been brought into use, and has taken the name of West Dudley, giving evidence of further and more extensive improvement. This section of Dudley has risen into notice through the extension of a branch of the Boston, Hartford, and Erie Railroad, up the valley of this river, to Southbridge.

The chief reliance for an increase of the wealth and population of this town is its water-power; that of the French river, upon its east border; the Quinebaug, on the west; and the ponds that supply the power of the works, formerly the Tufts' Manufacturing Company.

This power fully occupied (which is now favorably located by railroad facilities, and likely to be used), a further and much enlarged population would be the result, adding to the value of its farm lands, and giving a support to trade and mechanical industry far beyond the present state of such industries now existing within its limits.

Another branch of industry in this town, heretofore commanding but moderate attention, is capable of being productive of much wealth and prosperity to its inhabitants, if conducted with skill and enterprise. This is the extensive bed of granite that underlies a large section along the central north border of its territory. These quarries have been worked from an early period in the history of this place, but not with that skill and enlarged ability which the present railroad facilities would permit. These, no doubt, at no very distant time, will command far greater attention than at any former period, and will prove a source of advantageous industry, as well as bringing increase of population.

SCHOOLS.

Schools were neglected at first by the pioneer inhabitants of Dudley, as shown by her early records. It was about

seven years after the town was incorporated when the first school was opened by its authority. This, no doubt, was in consequence, in some degree, of the very scattered situation of the first settlers, extending from the east to the west borders.

But school districts were soon established, and the inhabitants here have not been behind those of the other towns in this vicinity in providing schools for their children. The recent efforts of this town to sustain the academy here, is not only commendable, but shows the wisdom of the people in giving to it all the advantages to town scholars of a high school, by a free access to all prepared to receive its benefits.

The name by which this town was incorporated came from the Dudley family, the first English proprietors of this territory, as has been before stated, who were descendants of Governor Thomas Dudley, one of the patentees of the Massachusetts colony.

The following are some of the principal town officers :

TOWN CLERKS.

COMMENCING FROM FIRST ORGANIZATION.

1732.

John Lillie,	3 years.	Amasa Nichols,	2 years.
Jonathan Newell,	2 “	Rufus Davis,	6 “
Benjamin Conant,	26 “	William Hancock,	12 “
Ezra Conant,	6 “	Morris Learned,	7 “
Jedediah Marcy,	1 “	Abiel Williams,	3 “
Edward Davis,	18 “	Baylies Knapp,	2 “
John Eliot Eaton,	1 “	Elisha Williams,	2 “
John Chamberlain,	17 “	Augustus L. Allen,	2 “
Aaron Tufts,	1 “	Samuel Healy,	10 “

CHAIRMEN OF SELECTMEN.

Joseph Edmonds, 7 years.	Aaron Tufts, 15 years.
George Robinson, 2 “	Thomas Learned, 1 “
Ebenezer Edmonds, 1 “	Jepthah Bacon, 5 “
John Vinton, 1 “	William Windsor, 1 “
Benjamin Conant, 13 “	John Brown, 5 “
John Lillie, 1 “	John Eddy, 6 “
Joseph Upham, 5 “	William Hancock, 4 “
Joseph Sabin, 1 “	Joel Barnes, 1 “
Phineas Mixer, 6 “	George A. Tufts, 1 “
Ebenezer Bacon, 2 “	Chester Clemans, 1 “
Jedediah Marcy, 11 “	Morris Learned, 5 “
William Learned, 3 “	Baylies Knapp, 1 “
Edward Davis, 3 “	Theodore Leonard, 1 “
Jonathan Day, 2 “	Asa E. Edmonds, 3 “
John Warren, 3 “	Moses Barnes, 2 “
Isaac Lee, 1 “	Reuben Davis, 1 “
John Chamberlain, 5 “	Henry H. Stevens, 1 “

These officers extend only to the year 1852.

NICHOLS ACADEMY, DUDLEY.

This institution was founded by Amasa Nichols, Esq., an intelligent and enterprising gentleman, for many years a merchant and active business man of this town. He was a native of Thompson, Connecticut, where he was born, April 2, 1773. He married in Dudley, Sally, eldest daughter of John Eliot Eaton, a noted physician of the town. Their children were all born here as follows:

Emeline born	-	-	died, July 7, 1808.
Lucilla “	-	-	“ June 28, 1811.
Lucian “	-	-	“ Nov. 7, 1822.
Frederick “	June 20,	1808.	.
Sally “	May 19,	1813.	

Mrs. Nichols died at Dudley, April 14, 1814; he removed from the town about 1835, and died at West Scituate, Massachusetts, July 17, 1849, aged 76 years.

He erected the first academy structure in 1815, entirely at

his own expense. It was built with the greatest economy at a cost of about \$10,000. This building was not fully finished; but while preparing for painting and completing some fixtures, it took fire, and was entirely consumed.

This sad occurrence and severe loss to Mr. Nichols, was noticed in the *National Argus*, published in Worcester, as follows:

“BURNING OF NICHOLS ACADEMY AT DUDLEY.

“On Thursday, April 11, at about 3 o'clock, P. M., the large and elegant building, erected and owned by Amasa Nichols, Esq., in the center of the town of Dudley, and designed for an academy, was consumed by fire.

“In less than one half hour after the fire was discovered the building was burned to the ground.

“The structure contained twelve large rooms for the use of the school and steward, with a spacious chapel above the same, with galleries and a stage for speaking; the whole admirably calculated for exhibitions and the accommodation of such an institution; for beauty and novelty it exceeded any building in this part of the country.

“The carpenters' work and lathing had been nearly completed; one room only had been plastered, in which the school had been commenced and kept one quarter, which ended the Friday previous; and after a vacation of three weeks was to have been continued, the prospects for which were encouraging to Mr. Nichols, and bid fair to be highly beneficial to the community.

“The loss sustained by Mr. Nichols can not be much less than \$10,000, which alone he has to bear, unless a generous public should feel charitably disposed to contribute to his relief.”

“His persevering exertions for two years past in an undertaking for the benefit of the rising generation give him a peculiar claim upon the generosity of a benevolent public.

“DUDLEY, April 15, 1816.”

Much sympathy was expressed at the time to Mr. Nichols for the great loss he had sustained by the destruction of this beautiful edifice, and it was hoped that by circulating subscription papers (which was done soon after in this and adjoining towns), he would be relieved, to a large extent, from this burden. As it was known that Mr. Nichols designed to rebuild and that material would be accepted, a large portion of

the amount subscribed was made payable in such material; the full amount of the subscriptions has not been ascertained, and it is supposed that this paper, with many others that related to the expense of the original, and the rebuilding of the second structure, have been lost, destroyed, or remained with the other papers of Mr. Nichols' estate, and not made public. But from the best information obtained, the subscription did not exceed \$1,000, or rather fell short of that sum.

Mr. Nichols had already sustained heavy losses by investments in the cotton manufacturing business in the east part of the town, yet, with a perseverance worthy of much praise, he proceeded with the work of rebuilding, and, in the latter part of the year 1818, had finished the outside of the new building, except painting, and fitted up a school-room and opened a school.

The following is the act of incorporation:

“AN ACT TO ESTABLISH NICHOLS ACADEMY IN THE TOWN OF DUDLEY.

“SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same,* That an academy be, and is hereby established in the town of Dudley, in the county of Worcester, by the name of “Nichols Academy,” for the promotion of piety and virtue, and for the instruction of youth in such languages, and in such liberal arts and sciences, as the trustees, hereinafter provided, shall order or direct.

“SEC. 2. *Be it further enacted,* That Jonathan Davis, Amasa Nichols, Benjamin Russell, John Spurr, John Brown, Isaiah Rider, Luther Ammi-down, John Kettell, and Benjamin Gleason, Esqs.; Rev. Thomas Jones, Rev. Hosea Ballou, Rev. Paul Dean, Rev. Edward Turner, Dr. Dan Lamb, and Dr. Abraham R. Thompson, be and they are hereby established a body corporate, by the name of the trustees of Nichols Academy; and they and their successors shall continue a corporation by that name, forever, with power to have a common seal; to contract, to sue or be sued, and prosecute or defend suits by their agent or agents appointed for that purpose; to receive by gift, grant, donation, or otherwise, any lands, tenements, or other estate, real or personal; to hold or improve the same; to lease, exchange, sell, or convey the same, for the benefit of said academy, by deed or deeds, duly executed by their treasurer, or other officer or agent, being thereunto authorized by the said corpora-

tion; *provided* that the annual income of the whole estate of said corporation shall not exceed \$6,000.

“SEC. 3. *Be it further enacted*, That the said trustees shall have power, from time to time, to appoint a clerk, who shall be under oath, and a treasurer, who shall give bonds for the faithful discharge of his trust, and such other officers and instructors of the said academy, as the said trustees may judge needful and proper; and also to determine the time and place of their meetings, the mode of warning the same, or electing officers or trustees, and of transacting all other business; and to ordain necessary and reasonable orders, regulations, and by-laws for the instruction and government of the said academy, not repugnant to the laws of this commonwealth.

“SEC. 4. *Be it further enacted*, That when any of the said trustees shall die, or resign, or by age, infirmity, or otherwise become incapable of discharging his said trust, in the judgment of the major part of the said trustees, the survivors may fill such vacancy by electing a successor.

“SEC. 5. *Be it further enacted*, That the number of the said trustees shall not at any time be more than fifteen, nor less than nine, five of whom shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business; and all questions shall be decided by the votes of the major part of the trustees present; and, in case of an equal division, by the casting vote of the presiding trustee.

“SEC. 6. *Be it further enacted*, That Jonathan Davis, Esq., be and he is hereby authorized to appoint the time and place of the first meeting of the said trustees, and give them notice thereof.

“Passed, June 18, 1819.”

Soon after the act of incorporation was obtained, Mr. Nichols conveyed the building and land, by deed of trust, to the trustees and their successors forever for the purpose of a seminary of learning, providing that if the trustees should fail for six consecutive months to maintain the school, the estate should revert back to the grantor.

The labor and responsibilities now resting on the trustees were great and perplexing. They were under the necessity of sustaining a school: there were no funds, and the large building was unfinished, needing to be painted to preserve the exterior, and much to be done internally, to give it decent conveniences for a school. This was certainly a discouraging condition for commencing their trusteeship; but the trustees

were not disheartened; they began their labors in earnest with a determination that the institution should be put into working operation.

They assessed themselves for a sufficient sum to paint the academy, and make needful improvements to supply the immediate necessities of the school, that it should commence under such circumstances as would give the enterprise a fair opportunity for success.

The school opened with a favorable patronage from the public, but needed more funds to complete the inside of the building, by preparing dormitories and a victualing department.

In 1823 the trustees applied to the Legislature for aid; but the committee on education reported unfavorably upon the petition, on the ground that it had not been the practice of the State to aid academies until some permanent funds had been secured to the institution. It was represented to the petitioners that if they could raise and secure to the academy a fund of at least \$2,000, their prospects would be favorable for a grant of half a township of wild land in the State of Maine.

To raise this sum resort was had to subscriptions from those here and in the neighboring towns who favored the establishing of this institution in their vicinity. The proposed subscriptions were to be payable (when desired) on time, to run five, ten, and twenty years, bearing interest annually. The sum required was subscribed by the following parties :

John Brown,	Dudley, \$100	Royal Southwick, Jr., Dudley,	\$5
William Hancock,	" 75	*Remember Ingraham,	" 25
Morris Learned,	" 50	*Edward Howard,	" 35
Thomas Learned,	" 20	Samuel Robinson, 2d,	" 20
Samuel S. Knight,	" 50	*Luen Pope,	" 5
William Learned,	" 50	*John D. B. Kelley,	" 5
*Thomas Pope,	" 25	*Nathan Pratt,	" 10
Chester Clemens,	" 20	*Royal Carter,	" 10

John Spurr,	Charlton,	\$100	Ira Barton,	Oxford,	\$20
Samuel D. Spurr,	"	20	Abijah Davis,	"	20
Harvey Dresser,	"	10	Jonathan Davis, Jr.,	"	20
Luther Ammidown, Southbr'ge,		60	Stephen Davis,	"	20
Luther Ammidown, Jr.,	"	10	Jesse Ormsby, Thompson,		25
Holmes Ammidown,	"	10	Samuel Fiske, Southbridge,		15
Larkin Ammidown,	"	10	Isaac Oakes,	"	5
Fordyce Foster,	"	5	Samuel Slater,	"	100
Jonathan Davis,	Oxford,	100	Jeremiah Kingsbury, Oxford,		50

The total subscriptions, for which notes were given, or settlements of the same made in money at the time, amounted to \$2,001, though of which but \$1,753 were realized for the institution.

On the strength of these subscriptions a grant of wild land, to the quantity of half a township, in the State of Maine, was obtained from the Legislature, in 1825, which was sold for money; and the academy received by its trustees \$2,500, which, at the time of sale, was as much, perhaps, as could have readily been obtained; but, considering the future prospects of that new State, having but a few years been changed from a territory or province of Massachusetts, its lands might, with a reasonable probability, have been expected to advance in value; and had they deferred the sale six to eight years, they would have realized at least five times the sum which was received.

There was, however, a pressing demand for money to supply the necessities of the institution. The academy had not been finished, and made available for its pressing wants; but with these funds, \$4,253, the trustees were enabled to finish the building, converting the upper story (which had been designed by Mr. Nichols as a spacious hall for exhibitions, declamation, etc.), a large portion into dormitories and study-rooms, leaving the central section only for the chapel. Other portions, which were not required for the school department, were converted into boarding accommodations, giving suffi-

cient capacity to lodge and board about thirty students within the building.

Up to the year 1823 all the trustees were known or supposed to be Universalists. In filling vacancies in the board, it had been heretofore suggested by several of its members, that if they should elect a part of the board from other religious denominations, it would disabuse the public mind of the impression that it was a sectarian school; but Mr. Nichols warmly opposed such a policy, and the trustees thus far yielded to his wishes.

There were now two vacancies in the board to be filled, and, contrary to the wishes of the founder, two gentlemen were elected, known to be Trinitarian Congregationalists, Colonel William Hancock and the Hon. George A. Tufts. It is quite probable that there could not have been elected two trustees, in the range of all religious sects, who would have taken a stronger interest in the institution, or acted more wisely in promoting its usefulness. They were both residents of the town, and known to be active friends of education and the improvement of society.

This, however, did not convince Mr. Nichols of the propriety of this movement; he was ardent in his religious sentiments, and had sacrificed nearly all his pecuniary estate in establishing an institution for the special advancement of the religious denomination to which he was united. He regarded this as an act of great disregard of his views and desires.

He was so much offended at this action of the board, that he immediately resigned his office as one of the trustees and as secretary of the board, which offices he had held from the commencement of the institution to this time; and he never afterward appeared to take any interest in its affairs.

Of the propriety of the course adopted by the trustees, it is not purposed here to make any extended remarks; but it is deemed proper to say, that up to this time, Mr. Nichols

had borne the chief expenditure that had brought this institution into existence. It is true that a subscription for its aid had been received; but, of the amount so subscribed, only about \$800 came from other denominations; the \$2,500 received from the State was in the usual course of its patronage to institutions of learning, without regard to sectarian influences.

Now, if this act of neutralizing the character and influence of this institution is to be judged by the course generally adopted by other sectarian schools, particularly Calvinistic believers, would they have thus acted and elected men known to be Universalists, as trustees? It is believed they would not, if precedent is to be the ground of judgment.

The plea was to destroy its sectarian character, that other denominations might come to its support; but, by this step, it is not certain that its prosperity was advanced, from the fact that schools of this character founded by Universalists were few compared with the many sustained exclusively by those opposed to the doctrine of Universalism; and by this act of neutralization, the great incentive for its support by those who had founded and sustained it up to this time, was taken away; thus it is quite doubtful as to the advantage gained by this change of its sectarian character.

So far as the propriety of sustaining the broad principles of toleration, the trustees may have been right; but, under the circumstances, and with due consideration for the great expenditure and the religious sentiments of Mr. Nichols, and his ardent desire to continue the school on the basis of an institution that favored his religious views, it is believed that the trustees should not have changed its character, so long as there was any probability of its being sustained under the plan and design of its founder.

The school at this time was receiving a fair share of patronage compared with other academic institutions, and it is only

problematical that any gain was had by the change here made. It has, however, continued with fair success up to a recent period. At the present time it is suffering for want of means to enlarge and put in suitable repair its buildings.

Its general fund is very small, if any exists.

Colonel William Hancock has been its largest patron since its character was changed from a sectarian school.

He donated to the school in April, 1865, \$2,000, on the following conditions. The money to be placed at interest, and the income appropriated annually to pay the tuition of such scholars as the trustees shall deem worthy to receive such favor; but no scholar shall receive the benefit of this fund to an amount exceeding twenty dollars. And no other appropriation of principal or interest of this fund than that above mentioned shall be made for at least a period of twenty-five years.

At his decease, in 1868, he left to the trustees for the same purpose, and under the same restriction, \$4,000 more; in all, \$6,000.

In a letter to this writer, he remarks:

"I have had no official connection with the institution since 1843, but have always felt a warm interest in its prosperity. And I think I might add, have done more than any other man (except the founder) to promote its welfare. I served nineteen years as a trustee, which were years of constant labor. I drew all the plans, made the estimates, and superintended the work of remodeling and finishing the building, as left by Mr. Nichols; was fifteen years on the committee (thirteen years chairman) for hiring teachers, and was secretary more than a dozen years.

"I rejoice that I have been able and disposed to do so much, and regret that my ability did not permit me to do more, but hope that others hereafter may do better. The school now sustains a reputation scarcely inferior to any other in the State, of this character."

At this time, when the above remarks were made, October 29, 1866, the students in the academy numbered 107.

Since the act of incorporation the trustees have had six presidents :

1. General Jonathan Davis, of Oxford, elected in 1819.
2. Rev. Abiel Williams, of Dudley.
3. Rev. Joshua Bates, D. D. “
4. Colonel John Eddy, “
5. Rev. Henry Pratt, “
6. Oscar F. Chase, Esq., “ elected in 1870.

The first four in the list of presidents have deceased, and all the original trustees.

There have also been six secretaries, whose names are as follows :

1. Amasa Nichols, Esq., of Dudley, elected in 1819.
2. Rev. Abiel Williams, “
3. Hon. George A. Tufts, “
4. Colonel William Hancock, “
5. Lemuel Healy, Esq., “
6. Daniel Dwight, Esq., “ acting in 1870.

All the gentlemen in the list of secretaries, except the last, Mr. Dwight, have deceased.

The several preceptors elected by the trustees since the institution was incorporated have been in the following order :

Time of election and date of resignation are stated according to the records.

Elected 1819, Solomon L. Wilds,	A. M.	-	-	resigned 1822
“ 1822, Isaac Webb	-	-	-	“ 1824
“ 1824, William H. Rockwell	“	-	-	“ 1826
“ 1826, H. Lounds Street	-	“	-	“ 1828
“ 1828, William G. Learned	-	“	-	“ 1828
“ 1829, Sanford Lawton	-	“	-	“ 1832
“ 1832, William S. Porter	-	“	-	“ 1833
“ 1833, Darius Ayres	-	“	-	“ 1834
“ 1834, Benjamin Diefendorf	“	-	-	“ 1836
“ 1836, John Bowers	-	“	-	“ 1837
“ 1837, Oscar Fisher	-	“	-	“ 1839
“ 1839, Henry C. Morse	-	“	-	“ 1840
“ 1840, Elisha W. Cook	-	“	-	“ 1842
“ 1842, Henry C. Morse	-	“	(2d term) -	“ 1844

Elected 1844, Samuel W. Bates	-	A. M.	-	-	resigned 1846
“ 1846, Alden Southworth	-	“	-	-	“ 1849
“ 1849, Alvin H. Washburn	-	“	-	-	“ 1851
“ 1851, William W. Birchard	“	-	-	-	“ 1852
“ 1852, Alvin H. Washburn	“	(2d term)	-	“	1852
“ 1852, J. H. Almy	-	“	-	-	“ 1853
“ 1853, James A. Clark	-	“	-	-	“ 1854
“ 1855, Alden Southworth	-	“	(2d term)	-	“ 1856
“ 1856, Ogden Hall	-	“	-	-	“ 1857
“ 1857, Munroe Nichols	-	“	-	-	“ 1862
“ 1862, John T. Clark	-	“	-	-	“ 1866
“ 1866, William H. Putnam	-	“	-	-	“ 1867
“ 1867, Francis C. Burnett	-	“	-	-	“ 1868
“ 1868, Isaiah Trufant	-	“	-	-	“ 1869
“ 1869, A. L. Blane, W. G. E. Pope, and H. F. Burt	-	“	-	-	“ 1869
“ 1870, Harold Wilder and A. H. Livermore	-	-	-	“	1870

By a petition from the town of Dudley, in 1870 to the Legislature, praying the authority for taxing its inhabitants for raising money to aid this academy, permission was granted for that purpose.

In accordance with this authority, a legal meeting of the inhabitants of the town was called to act thereon, when a vote was ordered and passed to raise the sum of \$12,000, to be paid in six annual installments of \$2,000 each, the first payment to be made upon the 1st day of July, 1871; and the same sum to be paid upon each 1st day of July until the full sum of \$12,000 should be paid. The town further agreed to pay the trustees of this academy \$1,000 yearly, in payment of the tuitions of those scholars in town, that their school committee should deem qualified to enter a high school.

The foregoing acts, when it is considered that the town of Dudley has much less population and aggregate of valuation than most of the towns in its vicinity, must be regarded as highly creditable to the intelligence of its inhabitants and to their proper appreciation of what constitutes the best welfare and advancement of the interests of its people.

For the better accommodation of the students of this academy the trustees purchased the Universalist meeting-house, in 1867, paying for the same \$1,000, which building has been remodeled by raising the walls to make a second story for a hall, with school-room and two ante-rooms below ; while a new front and spire has been added, making a pleasant and convenient building for this institution.

As a further accommodation for this institution the trustees have decided to either put in good repair the old academy structure for a boarding house, or to erect a new building for that purpose, the coming season of 1873.

When the foregoing is accomplished, which time is not distant, this institution will have accommodations and advantages, scarcely less than any of the best academic schools in this State.

The autumn term of this academy for 1871, with Leonard Moore, A. B., as principal, had about fifty scholars, and the winter term following had about the same number ; but the expectation is favorable for a large advance in scholars when the boarding facilities are prepared, as the plans now design.

THE MERINO WOOL FACTORY COMPANY, DUDLEY.

This company was incorporated, February 13, 1812. The incorporators were Learned Corbin, Jephthah Bacon, Aaron Tufts, Phineas Bemis, and William Learned, together with such others as may hereafter associate with them. Some of those known to have been associated with these corporators were William Hancock, Morris Learned, Allen Hancock, Thomas Learned, Wm. Robinson, Peter Butler, and a Mr. Pratt, of Oxford.

This company, like many others formed at this early period in the history of cotton and wool manufacturing in this country, lost all its original capital.

The act of incorporation says it was formed for the pur-

pose of manufacturing wool and cotton in the town of Dudley, in the county of Worcester, according to the act, entitled "An Act Defining the General Powers of Manufacturing Corporations," passed the 3d of March, 1809.

The capital stock was not to exceed \$50,000 in real estate, and personal estate not exceeding \$100,000.

The mercantile firm of French & Everett, and Israel Thorndike, were stockholders (residing in Boston) in the original company. Subsequently, Major John Brown was interested here from about 1825 to 1837, with Samuel H. Babcock, of Boston, as principal capitalist. More recently, it passed into the hands of Henry H. Stevens, who has greatly enlarged the works, and now manufactures linen goods on these premises extensively.

TUFTS' FACTORY, OR RAM'S HORN, DUDLEY.

This woolen mill has been known by both of the above names; the latter name, "Ram's Horn Factory," arose, as has been reported, by some person having fixed the horns of a ram upon a conspicuous place on the factory building, at the time the first building was erected, which gave the mill this name, by which it was known many years; but more recently took the name of "Tufts' Factory," from the name of one of the principal proprietors, the Hon. Aaron Tufts.

This mill was erected in the year 1816. The proprietors were Judge Aaron Tufts, John R. Jewett, Mayo Pratt, Harvey Conant, and William Robinson. Its water-power is supplied from Gore and Baker ponds, which is regarded as an excellent power for a four-set mill; and, as the fall is rapid, it may, in a short distance be used twice, making it doubly valuable.

During the active life of Judge Tufts, he supplied means for running this mill many years, and Mr. Jewett was the principal manager.

The goods made here were low-priced woollens, mostly blue cloths.

The last mill, erected near the site of the former was of granite, taken from the quarries in its immediate vicinity, but was burnt about the year 1868, and this water-power has since remained vacant.

THE VILLAGE COTTON, WOOL, AND LINEN MANUFACTURING COMPANY, DUDLEY.

The above name was changed by an act, passed on the 27th of February, 1815, to "Village Factory."

This company was incorporated by the first name, June 12, 1812, with the following names as corporators: Samuel Waters, Amasa Braman, Estes Howe, Titus V. Shepard, Eseck Brown, Isaac King, Nathaniel Bartlet, Silas Chase, George Viner, John Stockwell, Junior, Stephen Bartlet, Nathan Bancroft, Luther Whitmore, Samuel Walker, Daniel Putnam. Absalom Leonard, Francis Sibley, Aaron Hammond, Joshua Waters, and Thomas Kendall, Junior, together with such others as may hereafter join or associate with them, their successors and assigns, be a corporation, by the name of "The Village Cotton, Wool, and Linen Manufacturing Company," for manufacturing cotton, wool, and flax, in the town of Dudley, governed by the act of 1809. Authorized to hold real estate \$50,000, and personal estate \$100,000.

This mill passed into the hands of Samuel Slater on the 6th of November, 1824, together with fifteen acres, one quarter, and twenty-eight rods of land, and all the other buildings on the same, with the water-power belonging thereto, for the sum of \$7,500, the same now is the property of the heirs of Mr. Slater. At present Horatio N. Slater, Esq., is the principal manager of the estate of the late Samuel Slater, in Webster, in which town this estate fell when the town of Webster was formed in 1832.

THE DUDLEY COTTON MANUFACTURING COMPANY,
DUDLEY.

This company was incorporated, February 8, 1816. The following names were incorporators, with such others as may associate with them : John Nichols, Theodore Dwight, Stephen Bracket, Nathaniel Crosby, William Kimball, and David Carroll, and made a corporation by the name of "The Dudley Cotton Manufacturing Company," to be governed by the act defining the powers and duties of manufacturing companies of 1809.

With the right to hold real estate \$50,000, and personal estate \$50,000, for manufacturing cotton in the town of Dudley.

Amasa Nichols, Esq., of Dudley became, one of the associates, when this cotton-mill soon became generally known as the "Nichols Cotton Factory."

It has since passed into the possession of parties in Providence, of whom it is understood that Oscar F. Chase, Esq., is the principal. The business has been much enlarged by the erection of new buildings, and is now regarded as a prosperous and able establishment.

ECCLESIASTICAL.

CHAPTER II.

CONGREGATIONAL SOCIETY.

THE precise date of the organization of this church is not known at this time ; the records during the ministry of the first pastor are believed not to be in existence.

It is presumed that it was formed in 1732, as the first settlers took immediate measures to procure a religious teacher, and maintain religious worship. By a vote of the town the following year, reference is made to an action of the church as then existing ; also, the preamble to the act of the General Court incorporating the town implies that the petition for the act, by these first settlers, was founded on a desire to enjoy the privileges of public worship, and maintain the preaching of the Gospel to themselves and their families.

The first person who received a call to settle in the ministry, in the town, was Mr. Isaac Richardson. It appears that a council was called for the purpose ; but there are no records among the proceedings of the town to explain the reason for not performing the services of the ordination, which did not take place.

On the 30th of January, 1734, it was voted to erect a meeting-house, as had been proposed, on *Joshua Pegan's old field*, provided the land could be procured for that purpose ; and, on the 27th of the following March, it was voted to accept four acres of this land for the location

of the same and for other public purposes, which had been given by the Indian proprietors, *on the top of Dudley Hill*, and to perform the conditions by them required, viz., “to allow the Indians convenient seats in our meeting-house when it is up.” The frame of this first meeting-house was raised, October 23, 1734, and located nearly on the site of the present meeting-house of this society.

To aid in this undertaking, they applied to Chief-Justice Paul Dudley and the Hon. William Dudley, and received a donation of £100 and 100 acres of land for a parsonage, or settlement, for their first minister. They also applied to the General Court, and obtained a beneficiary act, authorizing the taxing of non-resident lands for the support of public religious worship.

The first settled minister, as pastor of this church, was the Rev. Perley Howe, who was ordained, June 12, 1735, and dismissed in 1743. He came from Killingly, Connecticut, and was a graduate of Harvard university, 1731.

Their second pastor, Rev. Charles Gleason, was ordained in October, 1744, and died here in May, 1790. He was from Brookline, Massachusetts. There were several candidates for the ministerial office at this time, a Mr. Esterbrooks, Mr. Winchester, Mr. Adams, Mr. Gleason, and a Mr. Burbean. A committee of four members was selected to make choice of the candidate; these persons were, Ebenezer Edmonds, John Vinton, Benjamin Newell, and Joseph Edmonds; they were also to agree upon a sum for a settlement, and for the salary.

These proceedings for settling the minister, being entirely connected with the business affairs of the town, are a part of its records; thus some of the particulars will be found in the historical sketch of its political affairs.

It will be seen by the history of town affairs, that this committee selected Mr. Gleason, and arranged for his settlement

and salary. Rev. Mr. Gleason gave his acceptance on the 13th of September, 1744, and was ordained on the 31st day of October following :

The ministers present on this occasion were : Rev. Mr. Aldine, Brookline ; Rev. Nathaniel Walter, Roxbury ; Rev. Abel Stiles, of Woodstock, Connecticut ; Rev. Caleb Rice, Sturbridge ; Rev. James Brigham, Brimfield ; and Rev. John Campbell, of Oxford.

Rev. Joshua Johnson, the third pastor, was installed in December, 1790, and dismissed in May, 1796. He was from Woodstock, Connecticut, and a graduate of Yale college in 1775.

The fourth pastor, Rev. Abiel Williams, was ordained on June 12, 1799, and dismissed on March 16, 1831. He was from Raynham, Massachusetts, and was a graduate of Brown university, 1795.

His successor, Rev. James H. Francis, the fifth pastor, was ordained, August 24, 1831, and dismissed, June 26, 1837. He was from Weathersfield, Connecticut, and a graduate of Yale college in 1826.

Rev. Walter Follet, the sixth pastor, was installed, November 2, 1837, and dismissed, September 28, 1841. He was from Williston, Vermont, and a graduate of Middlebury college in 1825.

The seventh pastor, Rev. Joshua Bates, D. D., was installed, March 22, 1843. He was a native of Cohasset, formerly a part of Hingham ; born, March 20, 1776 ; admitted to the sophomore class in Harvard college, 1797, aged twenty-one ; graduated in the autumn of 1800, and became assistant teacher in Philips' academy, and commenced at same time his theological studies under Rev. Jonathan French, where he continued two years.

He was licensed to preach by the Andover association, in April, 1802. He was invited soon after to preach at Ded-

ham, and was ordained there, March 16, 1803. Hon. Fisher Ames was a parishioner in his society. He resigned this charge in 1818, and in March, same year, became president of Middlebury college, Vermont, and the same year was honored with the degree of D. D. from Yale college. After twenty-two years at the head of this college, he resigned in 1840, aged sixty-four. Chaplain in Congress in 1841. Soon after he preached a few months at Portland, Maine, and for two years at Northborough, Massachusetts, and from thence came to Dudley.

In the summer of 1852 Dr. Bates suffered from an attack of paralysis, but soon after recovered, and continued his services actively most of the time, till December, 1853, when, being on a pastoral visit, he met with an accident to his carriage, and by his exertions took a severe cold, which brought on the disease that terminated his life, January 14, 1854, in his seventy-eighth year. The sermon preached at the funeral of Dr. Bates was by Rev. William B. Sprague, D. D., of Albany, from the text Isaiah, LIII, 1st and 2d verses, which has since been published by the request of the church and congregation.

ACT OF INCORPORATION OF CONGREGATIONAL SOCIETY, DUDLEY.

This society was incorporated, June 23, 1797, with the following names as corporators: John Chamberlain, Thomas Learned, Esbon Carter, Aaron Tufts, Jonathan Bacon, Samuel Healy, Jonathan Day, Nathaniel Healy, Benjamin Lee, Timothy Foster, Mark Dodge, John Courtis, Junior, Joseph Keith, Nathaniel Healy, Junior, Abel Foster, Jonathan Bacon, 2d, Joseph Healy, William Fisher, Mark Elwell, Lemuel Healy, Eliphaz Perry, Josiah Hovey, William Healy, Hezekiah Healy, John Vorce, Simeon Wood, John Healy, John Foster, Edward Davis, Jephthah Bacon, Josiah Barnes, John

Bowers, Moses Healy, Samuel Davis, Joseph Jewell, John Lawton, Jonathan Conant, David Nichols, David Nichols, Junior, John Coda, Nathan Wood, Ephraim Upham, Joseph Bracket, Benjamin Mixer, Jabez Day, Benjamin Kidder, Aaron Davis, Joseph Davis, Benjamin Lee, Junior, John Eliot Eaton, M. D., Ebenezer Ammidown, Josiah Conant, Junior, Rufus Conant, Moses Jewell, Asa Courtis, Luther Chamberlain, Amasa Nichols, Stephen Healy, Joseph Allen, Eden Davis, Joseph Davis, Junior, Josiah Perry, Augustus Eddy, Isaac Lee, Paul Dodge, Eber Foster, Thomas Upham, Nathan Upham, and Benjamin Upham, together with all those inhabitants of Dudley who shall join said society, and become members thereof, with their polls and estates, be and they hereby are incorporated into a society, by the name of "The First Congregational Society in Dudley," and John Chamberlain, Esq., was authorized to call the first meeting of the incorporators. An addition to this act was passed by the General Court, February 9, 1798, including all persons in the town who generally worship with this society, and who do not belong to any other religious society.

THE BAPTIST CHURCH, DUDLEY.

The Baptist denomination formed an organization at an early period in the history of this town, but labored under many difficulties through the oppressive power granted to the standing order, or those of the Congregational faith, which by law had the right to subject all the polls and property of the town to contribute to its support.

In 1732, the following year after this town was granted by the General Court of the colony, the Congregational church was formed; and in 1744, twelve years later, the following certificate appears on the records of the town, showing that a Baptist church was then in existence, but there are no records to show the date when this Baptist church was first organized:

“ *Certificate.*—A true list of the names of the members of the Baptist church in Dudley: Joseph Wakefield, Benjamin Putney, Paul Robinson, Silas Robinson, Jonathan Putney, and the names of them that attend meeting with them, Francis Courtis, John Courtis, and William Wakefield. This is to certify to the town clerk of Dudley, and assessors of said town, that we have chosen Paul Robinson and Francis Courtis to see that the assessors give orders to the constable of Dudley not to take any taxes of the brethren, nor of any of the society of the Baptist church, to support your minister, or defray ministerial charges, or for erecting any place of worship for your society.

“ May 21, 1744.

“JONATHAN MARSH, Clerk of Baptist Church.

“JAMES COATS, Brother of the Church.

“Entered on the records of the town of Dudley, September 16, 1746.”

This certificate was the result of an act of partial toleration of Dissenters, first enacted by the General Court of Massachusetts, in 1727, which favored Episcopalians; but another law followed, as a result of a petition from the Baptists, in 1728, which exempted Anabaptists and Quakers, “provided that they usually attended the meetings of their respective societies, and lived within five miles of the place of meeting; otherwise they were bound to pay taxes to the standing order.”

This law was to continue in force only till May, 1733. Their oppressors often found ways of evading this law; many Baptists, Quakers, and Episcopalians were imprisoned, and their property distrained and sacrificed in the name of religious support, but of a faith repugnant to their belief.

On the expiration of this law the rigor of intolerance was exercised to its fullest extent. The next year, on the petition of the Dissenters, this exemption was continued to the year 1740, and, on further complaint, was extended seven years more. It was under this last extension that the above certificate was furnished for their exemption.

The last exemption law extended to 1747, when the same law was extended ten years, to 1757. Then, in November of

1757, an act, styled “An Act Further to Exempt Persons Commonly Called ‘Quakers’ and ‘Anabaptists’ from Paying Ministerial Taxes,” was passed, of which the substance is as follows :

“That from and after the 1st day of February, 1758, none of the persons commonly called ‘Quakers’ or ‘Anabaptists,’ who allege a scruple of conscience as the reason of their refusal to pay any part or proportion of such taxes as are from time to time assessed for the support of the minister or ministers of any church settled by the laws of this province, in the town, district, precinct, or parish where they dwell, shall have their poll or estate, real or personal, taxed towards the settlement or support of such minister or ministers, nor for building or repairing any meeting-house or place of public worship.

“And to the intent that it may be better known what persons are of the persuasion of the people called ‘Quakers,’ who are exempted by this act, to have his poll or polls, or any estate to him or her belonging, exempt from paying a proportional part of the ministerial taxes that shall be raised therein, none shall be esteemed or accounted to be Quakers but such whose names shall be contained in a list or lists to be taken and exhibited on or before the 1st day of February next, and afterwards during the continuance of this act, on or before the 20th day of July annually, to the assessors of the town, etc., etc., signed by three or more of the principal members of that meeting to which they belong, who shall therein certify, that they verily believe the persons whose names are inserted in said list or lists are really belonging thereto, and are conscientiously of their persuasion, and that they do frequently and usually attend their meetings for the worship of God on the Lord’s day.

“And to the intent that the Anabaptists who are truly such, and are therefore exempted by this act, may be the better known and distinguished from those who pretend to be, but really are not of that persuasion, etc., etc., as to have his or her poll or polls, or any estate to him or her belonging, exempt as aforesaid, none shall be so esteemed to be Anabaptists but such whose names shall be contained in a list or lists to be taken and exhibited on or before the 1st day of February next, and afterwards, during the continuance of this act, on or before the 20th day of July, annually, to the assessors of such town, etc., etc., signed by three principal members of the Anabaptist church to which he or they belong, and the minister thereof, if any there be, who shall therein certify, that the persons whose names are inserted in said list are really belonging thereto, and that they verily believe them to be conscientiously of their persuasion, and frequently and usually attend public worship in such church on the Lord’s day.”

The act of 1757, with some trifling amendments in 1770, continued in force until the declaration of rights and the constitution were framed and ratified in 1780.

The second and third articles of the bill of rights were intended to give equal protection to all religious denominations.

A part of the first article declares that,

“No subject shall be hurt, molested, or restrained in his person, liberty, or estate, for worshipping God in the manner and season most agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience, or for his religious profession or sentiments; provided he doth not disturb the public peace, or obstruct others in their religious worship.”

And in the third article it is provided that,

“The people of this commonwealth have a right to invest their Legislature with power to authorize and require the several towns, parishes, precincts, and other bodies politic, or religious societies, to make suitable provision, at their own expense, for the institution of the public worship of God, and for the support and maintenance of public Protestant teachers of piety, religion, and morality, in all cases where such provision shall not be made voluntarily.

“And all moneys paid by the subject to the support of public worship, and of the public teachers aforesaid, shall, if he require it, be uniformly applied to the support of the public teachers of his own religious sect or denomination, provided there be any one whose instructions he attends; otherwise it may be paid towards the support of the teacher of the parish in which the said moneys are raised.”

This law, apparently fair and equal in its effect, was changed from its true intents by another law, declaring that the society to which any party belonged who desired to withdraw his or their tax paid as aforesaid to the town, must be an incorporated body; and as the dissenting parties, Baptists, Quakers, or others, did not belong to any incorporated societies (as these denominations of religion seldom had their societies incorporated), they lost the right of withdrawing such tax, and thus were indirectly, through the right of the majority (such majority being generally of the orthodox Congregationalists’

denomination), compelled to pay for the support of a religious faith contrary to their belief.

These hardships and inconveniences continued in some degree (although becoming less oppressive by the increasing tendency to a spirit of universal toleration), until the ratification of the eleventh amendment of the constitution took place by the people, November, 1833, which gave free toleration, without distinction or subordination of one sect to any other. This article is as follows:

“Article 11. Instead of the third article of the bill of rights, the following modification and amendment thereof is substituted.

“As the public worship of God, and instructions in piety, religion, and morality, promote the happiness and prosperity of a people and the security of a republican government; therefore, the several religious societies of this commonwealth, whether corporate or incorporate, at any meeting legally warned and holden for that purpose, shall ever have the right to elect their pastors or religious teachers, to contract with them for their support, to raise money for erecting and repairing houses for public worship, for the maintenance of religious instruction, and for the payment of necessary expenses. And all persons belonging to any religious society shall be taken and held to be members, until they shall file with the clerk of such society a written notice declaring the dissolution of their membership, and thenceforth shall not be liable for any grant or contract which may be thereafter made or entered into by such society; and all religious sects and denominations, demeaning themselves peaceably and as good citizens of the commonwealth, shall be equally under the law; and no subordination of any one sect or denomination to another shall ever be established by law.”

On returning to the Baptist church in Dudley, the town records show the following as before given:

Voted, May 25, 1772: “To excuse the persons that belong to the Baptist church, from bringing their certificates in to the assessors yearly, so long as the law in favor of the Baptists and Quakers exists.”

This vote shows that there still existed a Baptist church in this town; and it is much to be regretted that there are no records yet found to show their place of worship or the persons who officiated as their ministers up to this period. The

above vote refers to the law of 1757, which was renewed in 1770.

It appears that after the Revolutionary war, Rev. John Martin, of Thompson, Connecticut, occasionally supplied preaching here ; also, Rev. William Bachelder and Rev. Samuel Waters, both of Sutton.

In 1790 the east part of the town was the principal place for holding their religious meetings. In 1798 a reorganization of this church took place in this east part of Dudley, which subsequently became the town of Webster ; and Solomon Wakefield was ordained as their minister.

Mr. Wakefield, although a resident of this part of Dudley, had been up to this time a member of the Baptist church in Thompson, Connecticut.

He differed in his religious faith from many of his brethren of the church, being strictly Calvinistic, while other members favored Armenianism. This difference proved unfavorable to its success, and, finally, for a time they had preaching, only occasionally, until it nearly ceased to exist ; but an interest in religion revived with them through the labors of Rev. Mr. Crosby, of Thompson, Connecticut, during the years 1810 to 1812, being aided in his efforts by Rev. James Grow, of Pomfret, Connecticut.

In the year 1813 a colored preacher, from Boston, visited the Baptist brethren in this part of Worcester county, and, for a time, supplied preaching for this denomination in this part of Dudley. During his labors, he added to the church several persons by baptism. In the latter part of this year, and in 1814, the interest in these religious services had greatly increased, and meetings now became frequent. These meetings were held in private houses—the school-house, and sometimes in the upper lofts of a factory that had recently been erected in what is now the north village, called the “Braman and Benedict,” or “Village Factory.”

This revival was noticed in the *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, of September, 1814. After referring to the revival in Thompson, it added as follows :

“The same good work made its appearance in the adjoining town of Dudley, in which the word of God had been preached by Elder Paul, a colored brother, accompanied with Divine power, and made effectual, as we have reason to hope, to many souls. The revival here was equally powerful as in Thompson; and, although the weather for the most part was very disagreeable, the meetings, (which were held almost every day), were so uncommonly crowded, that many could not get within hearing of the speaker’s voice.”

Adding :

“On the 24th of March, 1814, Elder Dwinell baptized ten at Dudley. April 13, Rev. Mr. Gano, of Providence, baptized seven more, when he preached from Acts iv, 33; and on the 26th of June, Rev. James Grow, of Pomfret, Connecticut, preached here, and baptized three; thus adding, by baptism, to the number of the converted here during this revival, twenty-seven members.”

About this time several factories were erected in this vicinity; besides the Village factory by Braman and Benedict, there was the Merino, the Nichols factory, and one at the east village, by Mr. Samuel Slater.

This had the effect to increase largely the population here, and, with others, there were added several Baptist families.

These circumstances proved favorable to establishing a permanent organization, which resulted in the Baptist church now in Webster, organized, October 26, 1814.*

UNIVERSALIST SOCIETY, DUDLEY.

From an early period in this town there have been persons of the Universalist faith in religion. After the organization of the Universalist society at Oxford, in the year 1785, several persons from Dudley joined in attending and supporting that organization for many years.

* See Historical Sketch of that church, a continuation of the Dudley church.

Occasional services of this order were held in this town, up to about the year 1829, when, on the 9th of May of that year, a society was formed.

The preliminary steps were by a petition signed by Samuel C. Butler, Tyler Simpson, Rowland Perry, and thirty-seven others, dated, "April 29, 1829," directed to one of the justices of Dudley, who issued his warrant calling the meeting at the house of John Congdon, Junior, on Saturday, May 9, as above, when the petitioners were legally organized as the "First Universalist Society in Dudley."

For a period of about four years they held their meetings in the hall of the hotel, in the center of the town, or in Nichols' academy. In the year 1833 this society joined with the Methodists, and erected a meeting-house at the common expense of the two religious parties. The condition for this union was that each party should occupy half of the time this house. This union continued about two years, not satisfactory to either party, when, in the year 1835, the Universalists bought the interest of the Methodist friends, except one pew.

The Methodists now retired, and held occasional meetings in school-houses and private houses, until they erected a house of worship for themselves in 1845, in which they now continue to hold regular meetings under a separate organization.

The former house in which these two religious denominations held their worship, but which became by the sale here referred to the property of the Universalists, was dedicated April 30, 1834.

The ministers who have supplied the pulpit for the Universalists have been as follows :

Rev. Gilman Noyes, began in 1829. Time left not certain.

" John Boyden, Junior, began in 1835. Time left not certain.

" Joshua Britton, " 1840. " " " "

" William H. Griswold, " 1842. Died March 8, 1844.

" Joseph O. Skinner, began March 30, 1844. Time left not certain.

" Samuel Brimlecom, " April 17, 1845. Time left not certain.

Rev. Albert Tyler, supplied a few months in 1847.

“ Cyrus A. Bradley, began in 1847. Time left, uncertain.

“ James H. Burnham, “ “ 1851. “ “ “

“ Phineas Hersey, “ “ 1852. “ “ “

“ William Bell, a short time, 1853. “ “ “

“ Joseph Barbour, began January 1, 1854. Left April 1, 1861.

This society now being reduced in members by emigration from the town, united with their friends in Webster. The minister preached in the morning for one society, and in the afternoon for the other, each day going from one town to the other, maintaining preaching for a half day at each place. In 1867 the society in Dudley, being further reduced in numbers, sold their meeting-house to Nichols' academy for school purposes.

METHODIST CHURCH, DUDLEY.

There have been, from an early period in the history of this town, several families who in their religious faith adhered persistently to Methodism. Through their influence they have had occasional preaching here during all this period; but their numbers and ability have not been equal to the support of constant supply, nor sufficient to make it a regular station.

For several years (of a more recent period), the parties professing Methodism have joined with those of the faith of Universalism, in a place for holding their meetings; but this mode of conducting their religious affairs did not prove to the satisfaction of either party, and was abandoned.

There was now a determination to organize a permanent society, and sustain regular preaching. Having sold their share of the Union meeting-house to the Universalists, they began preaching as follows:

In 1843, by Nathaniel J. Merrill, - - - - 1 year.

“ 1844, “ William B. Olds, - - - - 2 “

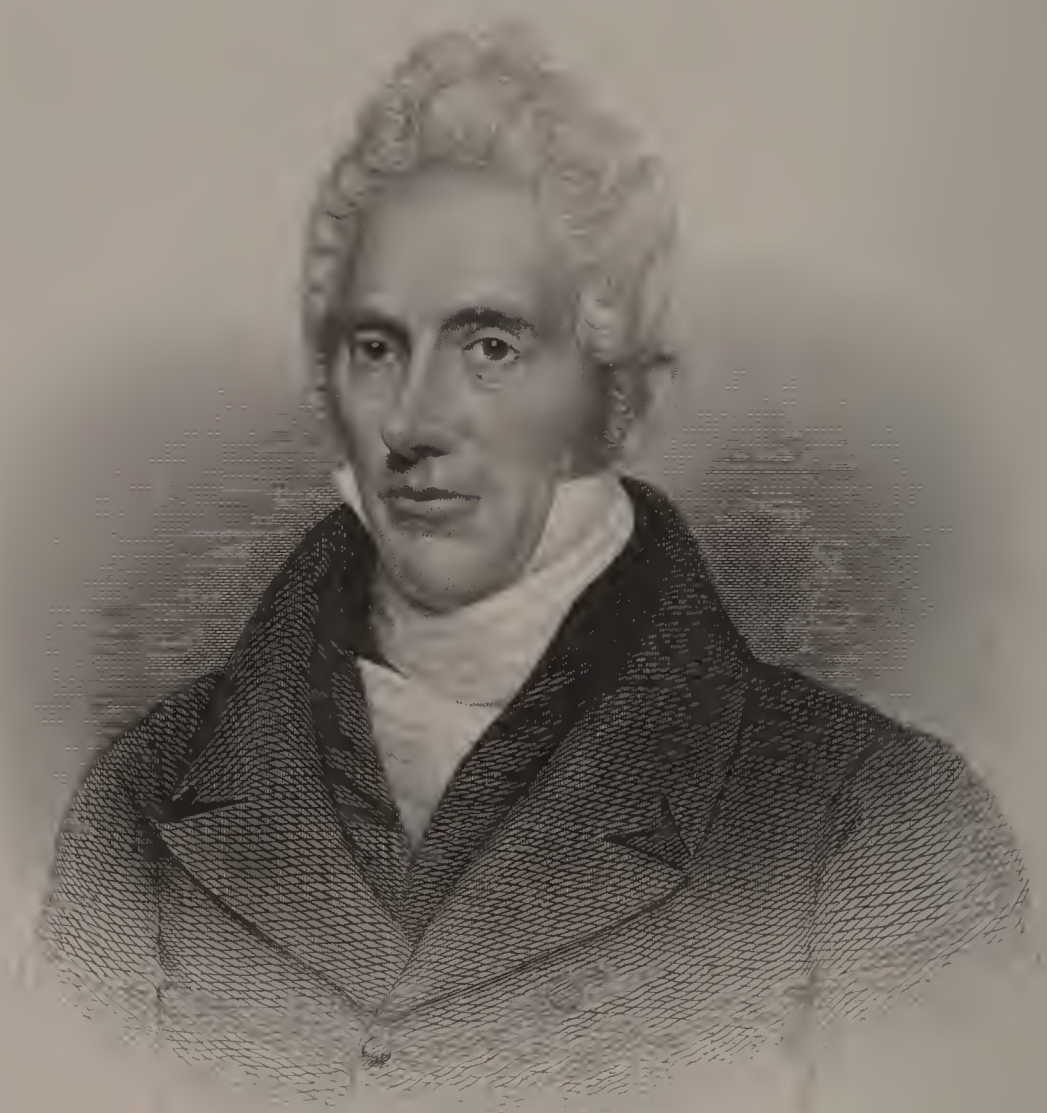
During this period, in 1845, the church and society were enabled to erect a meeting-house, in which they have since

assembled. Their next supply was 1846, by Jeremiah L. Hanaford, two years.

In 1848,	by David K. Merrill,	-	-	-	-	-	1 year.
" 1849,	" David Kilburn	-	-	-	-	-	2 "
" 1851,	" William B. Olds (second term),	-	-	-	-	-	1 "
" 1852,	" William R. Stone,	-	-	-	-	-	2 "
" 1854,	" Nathan A. Soule,	-	-	-	-	-	1 "
" 1855,	" Jonathan L. Estey,	-	-	-	-	-	1 "
" 1856,	" Erastus B. Morgan,	-	-	-	-	-	6 months.
" 1856,	" Daniel Dorchester,	-	-	-	-	-	1½ years.
" 1858,	" Daniel Atkins,	-	-	-	-	-	2 "
" 1860,	" Thomas J. Abbott,	-	-	-	-	-	2 "
" 1862,	" M. Emory Waight,	-	-	-	-	-	2 "
" 1864,	" Moses P. Webster,	-	-	-	-	-	1 "
" 1865,	" Thomas B. Treadwell,	-	-	-	-	-	2 "
" 1867,	" Thomas Powers,	-	-	-	-	-	6 months.
" 1867,	" Samuel F. Cushman,	-	-	-	-	-	4 "
" 1868,	" William B. Lacount,	-	-	-	-	-	2 "

Warren F. Goodell, a local preacher, resident in this place, has supplied the pulpit in the absence of other preachers.

In 1870 John Noon was their preacher.



Aaron Tappan

BIOGRAPHICAL.

CHAPTER III.

HON. AARON TUFTS.

MR. TUFTS, known as Dr. Tufts and Judge Tufts, was born in Charlestown, Massachusetts, January 30, 1770. His father dying while he was a child, he was left to the sole care of his mother. In 1776 he removed with her to Woodstock, Connecticut, where he received the rudiments of his education in a common school. Though without the advantages of the facilities for education of the present day, yet he made highly respectable attainments in knowledge. He studied medicine with Dr. John Eliot Eaton, of Dudley, in which town the remainder of his life was spent. He practiced medicine about five years, and then engaged extensively in manufacturing business, and acquired a handsome fortune.

At Dudley, in possession of an elegant residence and good estate, he maintained the hospitality of a gentleman, and gathered around him the essentials of a pleasant home.

Few men in his day exerted a more commanding influence in the country. Though not what is called a man of "liberal education," his strong good sense, great sagacity, and broad experience rendered such an education the less necessary, and more than supplied it in the practical business of life, both public and private.

He for many years represented the town of Dudley in the General Court, and from 1810 to 1825 was a member of the senate.

In 1819 he was appointed a justice of the Court of Sessions, which office he filled several years.

Those who recall the long and difficult struggle, by which anything like a protective tariff was obtained from Congress, will remember how important it was deemed that the wisest, most discreet, and experienced friends of American industry should be employed to present their views before the committees of Congress. Of the men selected for this purpose Judge Tufts was one, and no one who knew him doubted the wisdom of the selection.

By the opportunities that offered he became widely and very favorably known in the country. He was distinguished for the energy and decision of character manifested in all his undertakings, and he combined with that an urbanity of manner, at once dignified and refined, which rendered him an agreeable companion in social life, and won the confidence of those around him.

He married, May 22, 1790, Sally Barker, daughter of William Barker, of Worcester. She died, March 2, 1842. The death of his only son, George Aaron Tufts, in whom his hopes had justly centered, saddened the evening of his days. Judge Tufts survived both son and wife till October 17, 1843, when an honorable and useful career was closed at the age of seventy-three years.

HON. GEORGE A. TUFTS.

Mr. Tufts was the only son of Hon. Aaron Tufts, for many years distinguished as a man of wealth and sagacity.

The subject of this sketch was born at Dudley, February 22, 1797. He graduated at Harvard university in 1818, was



Geo. Leighton

one year and a quarter a member of the law school at Cambridge, studied law one year in the office of Hon. Josiah J. Fiske, the balance of time, making three years of legal studies, was in the office of Hon. Levi Lincoln, at Worcester, and admitted to the bar in Worcester, December, 1821.

He at once entered upon the practice of his profession in his native town, and there continued until his death, December 25, 1835. The same year he had been elected a member of the Massachusetts senate. His character was high-toned as a gentleman, extremely conscientious in his acts; was several years connected with the government of Nichols academy, and active in his efforts for the welfare of that institution, and the cause of education, generally.

As a lawyer, he stood well with his associates at the bar; and his death was not only a source of regret to that fraternity, but generally, and although he was cut off at a premature age, yet his actions were characterized with all the consideration and wisdom of long practical experience.

Mr. Tufts married, October 2, 1822, Azubah Boyden Fales, daughter of David Fales, of Wrentham. She was born, October, 1796; died, November 27, 1835.

Their only daughter, Sarah, was born, January 31, 1825, and married, April 26, 1853, to Hon. Francis H. Dewey, of Worcester, known more generally as Judge Dewey. They have five children now living.

HON. PETER CHILD BACON.

Peter Child Bacon was the son of Jephthah Bacon, Esq., of Dudley; born there, November 11, 1804. He graduated at Brown university, in the class of 1827; read law at the New Haven law school; also in the office of Davis & Allen, of Worcester; Ira M. Barton, of Oxford; and George A. Tufts, of Dudley. He was admitted to the bar in Worcester, in

September, 1830, and commenced the practice of law in Dudley, but soon removed to Oxford, where he continued his profession twelve years, and then removed to Worcester, January 1, 1844, and has been constantly practicing there since. Mr. Bacon was elected a member of the house of representatives, to represent the city of Worcester in the General Court, the first year of its organization as a city, in the year 1848 ; was elected mayor of the city in 1851 and 1852.

The degree of LL. D. was conferred upon him by Brown University, in 1857.

For more than forty years past, Mr. Bacon has been constantly engaged in the practice of the law in this county, as the printed reports of the State and county will show.

His father, Jephthah, was son of Jonathan Bacon, and Martha, his wife ; born at Uxbridge, March 31, 1770. His mother, Joanna Child, was daughter of Peter Child, and Susan, his wife ; born at Woodstock, June 15, 1765. Jephthah Bacon, of Dudley, and Joanna Child, of Woodstock, were married the 26th of February, 1801, at Woodstock, by the Rev. Wm. Graves.

The late Colonel Chester Child, a well-known and prominent citizen of Woodstock, was a brother of Mrs. Joanna Child Bacon. Their father resided in the north parish of that town, and was known as an intelligent farmer.

The paternal grandfather of the subject of this sketch was Deacon Jonathan Bacon, known for his piety and benevolence. On both sides the grandparents were what is usually styled independent farmers ; both of the old Puritan stock of the orthodox faith in their religion.

Jephthah Bacon, Esq., the father, was noted for his general intelligence. Although not bred to the law, he was better versed in its general principles than many lawyers ; and this knowledge, with his sound practical ideas, brought his time

largely into demand in public and general business, and in this respect, as a correct draftsmen of deeds, agreements, and legal instruments, and as a safe counselor, he was scarcely equaled by any man in the south part of the county. His time for many years was chiefly employed by the community around him in the transaction of business of a legal character.

He was a justice of the peace, and noted as a trial justice, and often in the employ of the town, to attend to all matters requiring legal knowledge. In politics he was a Federalist of the pure stamp, and was the representative from Dudley to the General Court when the question was brought forward and a vote taken favoring the holding the Hartford convention, and he was the only Federalist that voted against holding that convention.

In giving his reason for this vote, he stated, that the regularly constituted authorities of his country had declared war, and he thought it the duty now of all parties to unite in presenting a firm and unbroken front in sustaining the government, and to do nothing that should tend to give aid or comfort to the enemy. This was but a sample of the natural honesty and tendency of his mind. Although a Federalist, there was no man more patriotically devoted to sustaining the cause of the country in that war than Jephthah Bacon. Like many of the old Democratic party during the late Rebellion, they believed in the general principles that were the common bond of the party, as a political party; but when their brethren of the South conspired to sever the Union, they were no longer of their brotherhood, but regarded them as enemies of their country, and united as heartily in putting down the Rebellion as the most determined of the members of the Republican party.

Mr. Bacon, whose character and history this is designed briefly to portray, is in his devotion to his country all that his father before him was; and in matters of law as a safe coun-

selor and an advocate before a jury, or upon questions of law before the court, his extensive legal knowledge, great experience, and known ability, is so generally acknowledged, that this writer could add nothing to his just renown by any further remarks upon that point, but can not refrain from adding, that his kindness of heart to the young students of law, or practitioners, has given them always a ready friend and adviser.

His large experience and inexhaustible store-house of legal knowledge and readiness to aid the less informed and skilled in the law, will long keep him in remembrance by a numerous class, as the source of their best ideas and most sound and practical points in their legal knowledge.

As a counselor, this writer can state from experience in many instances, running through a period of thirty years, that in preparing his cases he is remarkable for the discovery of all the weak points of the question ; the good points he never troubles his client about ; but his main and constant effort is to raise all possible points against the case, which leads the client almost to believe him an actual opponent. By this method he prepares and fortifies himself to meet the opposing counsel ; having discussed and well considered the weak points, and prepared his answers before the case comes before the court for trial. No man in the county of Worcester is more generally and highly respected for his uprightness, kindness of heart, or honesty of purpose, than the subject of this article.

NAMES OF INHABITANTS.

Those known to be among the first settlers in this town are the following :

Adams, Bacon, Chamberlain, Conant, Corbin, Davis, Edmonds, Healy, Newell, Robinson, Sabin, Wakefield, Putney, Carter, Lillie, and probably some others who were known to be inhabitants here in 1732, when this town was first organ-

ized. These first settlers, who came from Roxbury, Newton, and about Salem, were like those who founded both Oxford and Woodstock.

All this tract of land remained wild and unsettled until after the death of Governor Joseph Dudley, who, as has been stated in another place, deceased in the year 1720, when his sons, Paul and William Dudley, to whom most of the land here, and 6,000 acres adjoining in the south-west corner of Oxford, came by inheritance, when they began to sell them. Thus, not till after 1720, do we find any conveyances; but then the sales became quite general, and the deeds of all original purchases will be found to be from the Dudleys as grantors. To Captain Peter Papillon was sold the Oxford lands, and it is believed that Mr. Healy was the first purchaser here; then Sabin, Newell, Corbin, etc. Soon after will be found the following settlers: Balley, Baker, Cheney, Child, Courtis, Dodge, Elwell, Gore, Jewell, Marcy, Mixer, Morris, Taylor, Upham, and Vinton, who came before 1750. Then follow others, who are found here before 1800: Ballard, Barnes, Blood, Brown, Cady, Carpenter, Clark, Eddy, Foster, Hancock, Haven, Haskell, Hovey, May, Learned, Johnson, Marsh, Nichols, Perry, Pratt, Sayles, Taft, Waldron, Webster, Williams, Wood; also, Ammidown, Day, and Keith. While there have been no very conspicuous names among either the founders of this town, or their descendants, they have generally been people of respectability—industrious and practical—sustaining good social relations, and exhibiting a constant moral and religious standing in the community around them.

Perhaps the names of Learned, Davis, Bacon, Marcy, Healy, Hancock, Nichols, and Tufts, have been the most distinguished of this place.



Engr'd by A. H. Pichie

Samuel Slater

WEBSTER.

SECTION V.



CHAPTER I.

THIS town was formed by taking a part of the territory of each of the towns of Oxford and Dudley, in the year 1832.

Quite a large portion of this territory was a tract of land known for many years as "Oxford South Gore;" and another tract belonging to the Pegan Indians (a remnant of the ancient Nipmucks), which was a concession made to these Indians by the town of Dudley for their relinquishment of certain rights to land located on Dudley hill, which was part of the land known formerly as "Black James & Co.'s Grant," surveyed to them in 1684, as referred to in another part of this work, it being a reservation equal to about five miles square, made by the ancestors of these Indians in their deed procured by Hon. William Stoughton and Joseph Dudley, agents of the colony, by the order of the General Court in 1681. In parting with the larger portion of their lands, which fell into the hands of Chief-Justice Paul Dudley and his brother, the Hon. William Dudley, they reserved 400 acres on Dudley hill, bounded north by Newell's brook, which is north of the present center village of Dudley, and extending south, including part of Davis hill, which tract they exchanged with the town of Dudley for the one that bordered on Chabanakong-

komun pond, which became a part of this town, with other lands of Dudley east of the French river.

These natives for many years had been known and recognized by the Colonial Legislature, and more recently by the State Legislature of Massachusetts, as the Dudley Indians, and were under the care and protection of both the Colonial and State governments, which annually appointed agents, whose duty it was to exercise a guardianship over them, taking care that their rights were respected. Colonel Moses Marcy, of Sturbridge, filled this office many years.

But, like the native race generally, when subjected to or surrounded by the white—degenerate by the loss of their native freedom, and habits of dissipation—they have, it is believed, nearly or entirely disappeared, having long since parted with these lands.

Samuel Slater, styled “The Father of the Cotton Manufacture of the United States,” may very properly be regarded as the founder of Webster, as through the introduction of both the cotton and woollen manufacture here, its chief prosperity and population has been introduced.

As it may be a matter of interest to the curious in historical matters to know by what means Mr. Slater became acquainted with the water-power at this place, which at the time was the extreme corners of the towns of Oxford and Dudley, in Massachusetts, and of the town of Thompson, in Connecticut, the following relation of facts and circumstances is given :

Mr. James Tiffany, of South Brimfield (now Wales), in Massachusetts, who for a number of years had been in the habit of visiting Providence and Pawtucket, Rhode Island, doing some marketing business and purchasing family supplies, had, in the course of his operations, formed an acquaintance with Samuel Slater and his cotton manufacture at the latter place.

In the course of this acquaintance he often spoke to Mr. Slater of his sons, whom he referred to as smart boys, well-

educated and industrious, and importuned him to take them to learn to be manufacturers; finally, Mr. Slater consented that one of the boys should be sent down on trial. Soon after the eldest, Lyman, made his appearance at Pawtucket, and proving himself very apt and useful, he soon became quite a favorite in Mr. Slater's family; particularly with Mrs. Slater. Not long after another of the boys came down; this was Bela, who was also engaged in the business, and proved himself capable and quite satisfactory in the performance of the trusts confided to his care.

At this time Mr. Slater was only a manufacturer of yarn; it being about the years 1808 to 1810, the manufacture of yarn into cloth was then only done by families upon the hand-loom, and in such quantities as domestic necessity required. But as business advanced, and yarns accumulated, it became a necessity with him to convert his surplus yarn into cloth, for a more ready sale; and as the mode of weaving yarn into cloth by water-power had not at this time been discovered, his resource was to the hand-loom process; and the families who best understood this business were those of farmers in the country, who, by reason of limited means for procuring articles of clothing, had been compelled to raise flax for the purpose of summer use and bedding, and to keep sheep for the product of wool for winter clothing; this flax and wool was spun into yarn and woven into cloth by the wives and daughters of these interior farmers, who by necessity had become skilled in the use of the hand-wheel and the hand-loom.

To effect this object most economically, it was deemed best to erect his mills for the manufacture of yarn in the country, in the midst of a farming population, and with this plan in view he instituted inquiry as to some suitable location, when he was informed by his friend Tiffany of the valuable water-power afforded by the outlet of Chabanakongkomun pond.

Mr. Tiffany, in his journeyings to and from Pawtucket and

Providence, passed and repassed this outlet, which at that time was the principal way of travel; the more direct roads having since been built.

With the recommendation of this water-power by the elder Tiffany, he dispatched Bela, then in his employ, in May, 1811, who, having examined the premises, writes Mr. Slater as follows:

“FRANKLIN, May 27, 1811.

“MR. SAMUEL SLATER:

“*Dear Sir*—I was very much disappointed when I arrived at Mr. Rud’s, in Uxbridge, for I had no information of the cause why you were not there. True the letter came Friday night, but through mistake, being brought after I had retired, was put into the post-office, and when I returned on Sunday morning (having been up to the pond), it was taken out of the office, and fortunately I found it; but I thought it best to pursue the intended journey, by which I could in some measure satisfy myself, which is as follows: Buildings—Large two-story house unfinished inside, built for two families; grist-mill with two run of stones, tolerably good; a very good saw-mill; and a trip-hammer shop, in good repair, with about 13 or 14 acres of land, one half of which is swamp of very little value; and the rest not very good. With regard to water and fall, there is no doubt enough to answer any purpose we should want, and so situated that a mill may be erected with as little expense as in any place I have seen; it is convenient to the road, and I believe quite secure from inundation.

“The principal objection, in my opinion, is, that it is the most benighted part of the globe—4 miles from Oxford, 3 from Dudley, and $6\frac{1}{2}$ from Thompson, where the corners of the three towns intersect each other.

“Terms are as follow: Four thousand dollars is the lowest terms: one thousand dollars down, in two years one thousand more, and then one thousand yearly until balance is paid; or if, at the expiration of one year, the residue is paid—that is, the three thousand dollars—a deduction of one hundred will be made, which I consider no object. I have the refusal at the above stipulations until the 20th of June, but he said it would oblige him if we could determine soon, as two men were expected to look at the place the 29th instant, who had seen it before, and solicited him to join them and erect a mill; but he said he preferred to sell right out, as a farm life would be most agreeable to himself and family; and says that if I will sell my farm he will look at it, and did it suit him, give a fair price, which will be some advantage to me, because it will about pay him for the privilege.

“There is a farm adjoining the mill site of about 220 acres of land, a dwelling-house and barn, for sale, for about \$3,000, which, if it should be wanted, may be had, and which may be worth very near that money. If you feel desirous to have the place, you will please write me, for I told him he should hear from me within that time, one way or the other.

“Your obedient servant,

“BELA TIFFANY.”

It appears that Mr. Slater approved of the idea of purchasing this water-power and some adjoining lands, but the deeds were not taken until after the beginning of the following year.

Mr. Bela Tiffany, who had examined this water-power and adjacent lands, and reported his views to Mr. Slater by the foregoing letter, was intrusted with the duty of securing the same by deeds.

The original deeds were taken in his individual name, although designed principally for Mr. Slater. It appears to have been Mr. Slater's mode of operation, when he had decided to make any large purchase where it would require time to effect the desired result, to keep his name in the background, and not excite public curiosity and notoriety, that might lead to an advance in the demands for the property he designed to acquire.

These first purchases which were made by Mr. Tiffany in his individual name were as follows: Bought of three different parties—the first of Elijah Pratt, $9\frac{1}{2}$ acres in two parcels, for the consideration of \$3,700.

One of these parcels of four acres contained a dwelling-house and barn, grist-mill and saw-mill, a trip-hammer shop, coal-house, and an old building formerly a grist-mill. The date of this first deed is “January 6, 1812,” and, as expressed in this deed, the land was located partly in each, Oxford and Dudley.

The next was a lot of 203 acres, bought of Asa and Samuel Robinson, for the consideration of \$3,500, with the buildings

thereon, be the same more or less, being all the land owned by these parties in the aforesaid towns of Oxford and Dudley; by deed dated "January 28, 1812."

A third lot was bought of Josiah Kingsbury, of 56 acres, with a dwelling-house and clothing-mill thereon, for the consideration of \$1,800, by deed dated "May 4, 1812." The three purchases containing $268\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land, with the aforesaid buildings and mills, giving the entire control of the outlet and water-power connected with the large pond before named, were secured, for the total sum of \$9,000.

As appears by the records of deeds at Worcester, Mr. Bela Tiffany sold to Samuel Slater five sixths of all this property at the precise cost to him, \$7,500, making a joint interest to be held in common and undivided, he reserving one sixth for himself.

This deed is dated the "11th of December, 1812;" and witnessed by Samuel A. Hitchcock and Loring Tiffany, who were then acting in the capacity of clerks for Slater & Tiffany; the title by which these parties were known for several years after these purchases were made, and under this name they at once proceeded to occupy this power for the purpose of the cotton manufacture.

The cotton factory, known as the "Green Mill," was erected during the year 1812, and the manufacture of cotton into yarn was first began here in the following year, 1813. It appears that the dye and bleaching buildings were built at the same time, and placed under the care of Mr. John Tyson, a man skilled in that line of work; and who, it appears, held a joint interest in the business.

The buildings for the dye-house were in a state of forwardness early in 1813, as appears by a letter from Mr. Tiffany to Mr. Slater, dated at Oxford, the 26th of January of that year, in which he advises Mr. Slater, then at Pawtucket, to bring up Mr. Tyson, as they were ready for him to arrange

the dye-works, as the machinery was about ready to start. By other letters it appears that Mr. Tyson was here engaged in the dye-works early in March ; thus it is reasonable to suppose that he came to this place in February, 1813. The yarns from the old mill at Pawtucket were sent here to be dyed by Tyson, as well as the yarns spun in the new mill here.

Mr. Tyson continued connected with the dye-house business from seven to eight years, and proved himself a very capable and industrious man, but by hard labor and exposure in the dampness connected with his labors, he injured his health, and after one or more voyages to Bermuda for relief, he died of consumption the 2d of August, 1821. It further appears by a letter from A. W. Porter, then engaged in Mr. Slater's business here, dated "September 9, 1821," that an account of stock was taken to ascertain Mr. Tyson's interest, in which he says: "We took the account of stock in dye-house yesterday, the 8th, and shall commence again work there on your account to-morrow, the 10th, that is, of September, 1821."

Mr. John Tyson was a worthy man, and had by his industry, it is understood, accumulated an estate of about twenty thousand dollars.

In returning to the operations of Messrs. Slater & Tiffany, it may be said, that besides the management of the cotton manufacture and dyeing and bleaching business, a store was added, and that further purchases of real estate continued, as follows :

January 5, 1814, from Stephen Holmes and Alanson Bates, 53 acres ; paid \$1,100. Recorded, b. 189, p. 276.

February 17, 1814, from Sylvanus Pratt, 3 acres, 36 rods ; paid \$36. Recorded, b. 189, p. 381.

July 24, 1814, from Jonathan Day and John Bates, $15\frac{1}{2}$ acres, 9 rods ; paid \$280. Recorded, b. 193, p. 226.

March 15, 1815, from Ebenezer Foster, half of 15 acres ; paid \$100. Recorded, b. 199, p. 423.

Bela Tiffany sells to Samuel Slater his interest in all the

above lands and buildings, and the business which Slater and Tiffany had organized and conducted at this place, including his interest with Samuel Slater and John Tyson in the Oxford dye-house company ; the price paid by Mr. Slater was \$8,400. Date of deed " November, 27, 1816 ;" recorded, book 203, page 188.

It is understood that the cause which induced Mr. Tiffany to leave this business with Mr. Slater was the great depression in the cotton manufacture which followed the close of the war between Great Britain and the United States, December, 1814, consequent upon the large importation of English manufactures. There was no disagreement ; but, on the whole, Mr. Slater was pleased with the active management of Mr. Tiffany in the inauguration of this business.

Mr. Slater, as sole owner, now continued this cotton manufacture. But it appears that besides this business as conducted by Slater and Tiffany, and the dye-house in connection with John Tyson, as has been shown by the foregoing, he began the woolen manufacture here as early as about 1814. At this time was commenced the making of broad-cloths, under the charge of that remarkable person, Edward Howard, who was a Yorkshire man ; and in accordance with Mr. Slater's well-known kindness to his native countrymen, by the application of Mr. Howard, who had been trained to the manufacture of wool, he was induced to give him employment in this line. Thus it may be said that Edward Howard was the originator of the wool business in this place, and it is believed was among the first—if not exclusively so—to introduce the manufacture of American broad-cloth. More will be said on the subject of the wool manufacture in this town in another place. Like most Englishmen, it seems to have been the *penchant* of Mr. Slater to accumulate land, and thus we find a continuation of purchases, as follows :

October 2, 1817, from Samuel Crane, 30 acres and 140 rods; paid \$300. Recorded, b. 208, p. 420.

November 15, 1817, from Rufus More, half of 26 acres and 140 rods; paid \$313.50. Recorded, b. 208, p. 464.

September 20, 1817, from Jonathan Harris, 16 acres, paid \$104. Recorded, b. 210, p. 22.

January 26, 1818, from Thomas Keith, 14 acres and 12 rods; paid \$200. Recorded, b. 210, p. 261.

March 15, 1818, from John Rodman, 50 acres; paid \$400. Recorded, b. 210, p. 265.

June 12, 1819, from Jedediah Corbin, 38½ acres, paid \$385. Recorded, b. 214, p. 582.

November 1, 1819, from Philip and Warren Brown, flowage; paid \$175. Recorded, b. 219, p. 105.

July 2, 1819, from John Bates and J. Bates, Jr., flowage; paid \$425. Recorded, b. 219, p. 107.

July 17, 1819, from John Rawson, flowage; paid \$30. Recorded, b. 218, p. 206.

November 9, 1819, from Philip and Warren Brown, flowage; paid \$140. Recorded, b. 219, p. 106.

April 1, 1820, from Colvin Phipps, 13 acres and 4 rods; paid \$286.55. Recorded, b. 221, p. 106.

August 16, 1820, from Rufus Learned, 19 acres and 97 rods; paid 178. Recorded, b. 222, p. 105.

May 7, 1821, from Doctor Rawson, 130 acres and 14 rods; paid \$550. Recorded, b. 225, p. 381.

August 2, 1821, from John Jocelin, flowage; paid \$50. Recorded, b. 223, p. 572.

Hitherto Mr. Slater's business here had been confined to the water-power connected with the Chabanakongkomun pond, at the east village, but this year, 1821, he made use of Edward Howard to make a location upon the French river, now known as the south village.

July 18, 1821, Edward Howard bought of William Wakefield and Gibbs Dodge, executors of Solomon Wakefield, certain land; deed recorded, b. 223, p. 569. Another tract of William Wakefield, deed, February 25, 1822; recorded, b. 229, p. 12. And a third tract from David Wakefield, by deed, August 13, 1821; recorded, b. 226, p. 70. And a fourth tract, the Nathaniel Hall wood lot, bought of Daniel Mansfield, thirty-two acres, by deed, July 6, 1822.

This embraced several mills and buildings where the woolen works are now located, at a cost of about \$12,000.

December 8, 1822, Mr. Howard sells one undivided half of all these purchases to Samuel Slater for \$6,000 ; and, on the 10th of December following, mortgages the other half to Mr. Slater for \$6,000; the first deed is recorded, b. 231, p. 100, and the mortgage recorded, b. 231, p. 101, thus showing that in fact the whole operation was the project of Samuel Slater. The old woolen works were destroyed by fire at the east village, in January, 1822, but before this the new mills had been begun at the French river. Business was now conducted here in the name of Slater & Howard.

Slater & Howard now purchased the following property :

December 6, 1822, from Jeremiah Austin, 105 acres; paid \$701. Recorded, b. 231, p. 103.

February 13, 1823, from Hollis Witt, 30 acres; paid \$345. Recorded, b. 234, p. 46.

April 19, 1823, from Thomas Twiss, mortgage; paid \$265. Recorded, b. 234, p. 45.

May 12, 1823, from Charles P. Nichols, 11 acres; paid \$500. Recorded, b. 233, p. 205.

July 29, 1823, from William Robinson, Jr., and Solomon Robinson, 44½ acres; paid \$667.50. Recorded, b. 238, p. 276.

October 13, 1823, from Abijah Davis, 100 acres; paid \$1,300. Recorded, b. 236, p. 101.

January 4, 1824, from John Wetherell, 10 acres; paid \$200. Recorded, b. 237, p. 476.

June 5, 1824, from William Brown, 50 acres; paid \$500. Recorded, b. 237, p. 477.

May 13, 1824, from Joel Wakefield, 50 acres, 133 rods; paid \$457.48. Recorded, b. 239, p. 398.

June 2, 1824, from William Wakefield, flowage; paid \$225. Recorded, b. 239, p. 401.

June 16, 1824, from Silas Walker and Jason Walker, 26 acres, 50 rods; paid \$130. Recorded, b. 239, p. 399.

July 5, 1824, from William Wakefield, 40 rods; paid \$500. Recorded, b. 239, p. 401.

November 6, 1824, from Braman & Benedict, flowage; paid \$500. Recorded, b. 241, p. 178.

VILLAGE FACTORY SALE.

November 6, 1824, from Dana A. Braman, William M. Benedict, and Jason Waters, to Slater & Howard, the village factory estate, $15\frac{1}{4}$ acres, 25 rods: paid \$7,500. Recorded, b. 241, p. 180.

Together with the village factory, dwelling-houses, and all other buildings thereon, and the water privilege belonging thereto, to the Village Cotton, Woolen and Linen Manufacturing Company; reference being had to the deed of Samuel Waters and others to above Village Factory Company,* for deeds for right of flowage from sundry parties, covering 329 acres, for which was paid \$1,749.

June 14, 1825, from Abijah Davis, 33 acres; paid \$500. Recorded, b. 244, p. 318.

November 30, 1826, from John Tolman, 192 acres; paid \$600. Recorded, b. 251, p. 476. Located in Douglas and Oxford, South Gore.

1826, from sundry parties, $69\frac{3}{4}$ acres; paid \$1,169.50. Recorded, b. 251, pp. 598-602. Right of dower of widow of James Hill.

August 18, 1826, from Luther Bartlet, 245 rods, three lots; paid \$1,800. Recorded, b. 253, p. 105. Including water-power and buildings.

April 2, 1827, from John Bates, 30 acres, near pond; paid \$105. Recorded, b. 255, p. 444.

April 3, 1827, from Ebenezer Emerson, 122 acres; paid \$1,000. Recorded, b. 255, p. 445.

April 4, 1827, from Reuben Tuft, 109 rods, and house; paid \$423. Recorded, b. 255, p. 446.

April 16, 1827, from Nathan Cady, 32 acres; paid \$640. Recorded, b. 256, p. 78.

May 1, 1827, from Stephen Bartlet and Luther Bartlet, 75 acres; paid \$6,000. Recorded, b. 254, p. 610.

This purchase included all the estate of Stephen Bartlet, deceased, father of the grantors, with the buildings thereon, the water-power and all other privileges connected therewith, say, twenty four acres on east side of French river, except Luther Bartlet's store; and including saw-mill, half blacksmith shop, coal-house, grist-mill, and the Peter pond wood lot, the west side of said river, about twenty acres.

* See Records, b. 220, p. 430; also, b. 240, pp. 552 to 562.

September 10, 1827, from Charles Negus, 21 acres; paid \$640. Recorded, b. 256, p. 79.

August 18, 1827, from William Braman, 50 acres; subject to mortgage; paid \$92. Recorded, b. 257, p. 311.

January 14, 1828, from Nathan Hall, 50 acres, south gore; paid \$300. Recorded, b. 261, p. 363.

April 5, 1828, from Celia Campbell, 37 acres; paid \$262.50. Recorded, b. 261, p. 192.

March 9, 1828, from William Archer, 50 acres; paid \$880. Recorded, b. 259, p. 582.

A large part of the above conveyances, since July 18, 1821, were taken in the name of Samuel Slater and Edward Howard; the style of this firm being Slater & Howard.

Edward Howard sells to Samuel Slater, of Oxford; George B. Slater, and Horatio Nelson Slater, of Dudley; January 2, 1829, consideration \$30,000,* his one undivided half of the property of the Woolen Manufacturing Company; and thus all these purchases, since December 11, 1812, to this date, have become the sole property of Samuel Slater & Sons (the present name of said firm), including all the water-power and manufacturing business, cotton and woolen, now in the town of Webster.

This includes all the water-power supplied by the French river, within the limits of Webster, and the pond before named. This mill property and the real estate connected with the same constitutes a large portion of the valuation of this town, and has also given value very largely to the real estate owned here by the other inhabitants.

The date of this purchase of the interest of Edward Howard, in the year 1829, was probably the most embarrassing of any period in Mr. Slater's large business experience. The years 1815 and 1816 were a severe period for the parties who were the pioneers in American manufactures, and resulted generally in the loss of the capital they had invested.

* See Records, b. 264, p. 597.

That of 1829 was no less severe; but it fell upon a much larger number of persons, and affected a vastly greater capital invested in that branch of business.

Previous to this year, Mr. Slater's business had rapidly progressed, and with such financial skill, that his total indebtedness was very limited—only to the extent of monthly payrolls, which his sales of manufactured fabrics always afforded ample means to discharge, while he had many thousands of dollars on loan secured by mortgages.

But through his kindness of heart he had suffered himself to become indorser for relatives and friends to the amount of about \$300,000, when the extreme pressure in financial affairs at this time had produced the most depressing effect upon manufacturing property.

For these indorsements he had, as supposed, received ample security; but in times of great depression and stringency in monetary affairs the holders of money become easily frightened and lose confidence, not only in the responsibility of individuals, but in the money value of all real and personal property; such was the case at this time.

His relatives, Abraham, Isaac, and David Wilkinson, having, with others who were indebted to him, suspended payment, obliged him at once to provide for these indorsements, and at a time when his manufacturing property was regarded by many capitalists as nearly valueless.

In a letter to one of his consignees, the 7th of January, 1829, he writes :

“ It is rather a pinching time here for money; though many borrowers of money say times are becoming more easy. Since the failure of Hurd (the woolen manufacturer of Lowell), money jobbers and anti-tariff folks have propounded almost every one who has seen or at least touched of late a cotton or woolen factory, that he must go down stream, and amongst them some whose chins are barely above water are (*friendly*) afraid that I have a very heavy load on my back, etc. It is true, I am on two neighbors' paper, but am partially secured, and hope in a day or

two to be fully secured against any eventual loss, provided Mount Etna should not extend its lava much beyond the usual limits.

“Last week, my sons, George, John, and Nelson, bought out my old friend, Edward Howard, in the woolen business, which relieves my mind considerably. The business in future will be transacted by myself and sons; and as it respects the Amoskeague and steam cotton manufacturing company, including the woolen factory and all my private concerns (which I consider very trivial), I think I can boldly say, after the whole company debts are paid (all of which I have to meet), there will be left from \$800,000 to 1,000,000 dollars, to all concerned. I hereby mention these circumstances to, in some measure, rebut any flying reports that may reach your city (Philadelphia), and of course will not retard your acceptance of my paper so long as you have my funds in your hands to make you perfectly secure.

“SAMUEL SLATER.”

Again, on the 3d of February, 1829, he writes :

“Samuel Slater & Sons have come to the determination to place that ignoble establishment in Dudley, called ‘Slater & Howard’s Woolen Factory,’ in a state of respectability. Whether or not it was got up in iniquity, I can not say; but I fear some things during the life of it are mysterious. It is the united wish of S. Slater & Sons to sink into oblivion the past inroads that have been made, one way or another, on that establishment. They are very anxious to place the business in future on a fair mutual ground, so as to save about six thousand dollars a year for extra stock, raising the wind, bad debts, and too liberal commissions.

“SAMUEL SLATER.”

To show further the condition of the manufacturing business at this time, and the effect upon Mr. Slater, the following part of a letter written by him at North Providence, August 3, 1829, is here given :

“In regard to my indorsements for David Wilkinson, they are heavy, without doubt, but I am secured for the whole eventually.

“The steam-mill at Providence is in debt to a large amount, but, as \$70,000 have been paid in, and as the whole establishment is holden for her debts, I conceive, taking all things into view, that the depreciation will not exceed the amount paid in. As I have to look up entire new friends to aid me in my unexpected liabilities, it makes my task more arduous. There is coming due at different periods, at the Merchants’ Bank, Providence, on David Wilkinson and J. Kennedy’s

account, about \$62,000, which some of the directors say I can have my own time to pay. Brown & Ives, and Cyrus Butler, sent me word that they wished to have an interview with me; they say I must be carried through, and I doubt not they will do it.

“My brother (John Slater) is down here, and he and Mr. Sayles (Willard, of Boston, supposed), made out a sketch of my real and personal property, valued in their judgment, at what they consider it worth now, at \$690,000, leaving out the Dudley woolen establishment. As respects your observations relative to your fears not being unreasonable, I make every allowance, after taking into view your informant, whom I for years have thought was a *near-ox*, but now I have reason to believe the *off-side* is more congenial to his feelings.

“It is contemplated to make some arrangements to-morrow, so as to put my affairs in a proper train.

“When I see you face to face I will give you a history of human or inhuman generosity.

Two of my consignees have already offered to loan me \$10,000 each, over and above the amount of invoices, whom I have not been acquainted with ‘*forty years*.’ The failures round here are pretty frequent—the names, no doubt, you have already heard; I shall endeavor to advise you frequently of what is going on here.

“SAMUEL SLATER.”

The experience of Mr. Slater, at this time, with regard to those who had, during his long career of signal prosperity, always manifested towards him strong marks of friendship, led him to suppose that, under adverse circumstances, there would be found in them a sure source of reliance for aid; but when the trial came it exhibited a state of things in which his case is no particular exception, that friendship gained by prosperity is not always disinterested or reliable in adversity.

His allusion to the *near-ox*, which now he had reason to believe the *off-side*, as more congenial to his feelings, had no doubt reference to his former partner and friend, William Almy, to whom he had applied for aid in this pressing but temporary emergency, that several recent failures of his friends had occasioned, and who gave unexpectedly an evasive reply that was equivalent to a refusal. This unexpected turn of his affairs, and conduct of several of his former friends, was for the time a severe trial.

But all this did not shake Mr. Slater's confidence in his ultimate ability, without outside aid, to resuscitate his affairs, and save a large portion of his great estate. As a last resort, should no other parties afford him the temporary aid now required, he had determined to close for a time all his manufacturing operations, until he could realize from the property held as security for his name, then in the market for about \$300,000. This course, when known to the principal capitalists of Rhode Island, caused much alarm for the safety of themselves, and many others in whom they were interested.

It did not require great foresight to see that a stoppage for a season of such extensive operations as those of Mr. Slater's would have a general disastrous effect in the community, and cause great depreciation of values. It was through this aspect of affairs that Messrs. Brown & Ives, Cyrus Butler, and others, provided the temporary aid that enabled him to forego the suspension, and to go on with his usual business, and gradually relieve himself from this embarrassment.

His credit soon came out untarnished, and, as is generally the result where persons are enabled to hold on and continue their business through a severe crisis in monetary affairs, their subsequent success is greater than the former, and such was no exception with Samuel Slater.

There would not be a complete history of this south village without giving some further sketch of the principal manager and founder of the woolen business here, EDWARD HOWARD. The business men of the woolen manufacture, of the period from 40 to 50 years since, were generally well acquainted with this person through all parts of New England, and his connection with Mr. Slater gave him a degree of consequential notoriety, probably much beyond his real deserts.

He possessed considerable talent, and a general knowledge of the process of wool manufacture; but lacked much in economy and system, while his habits were of a most dissolute

character, which perhaps are more truthfully given by another in a letter to this writer, now before him, than by any description that might otherwise be given.

The author of this letter had a continuous acquaintance with Mr. Howard during the fifteen years he was engaged with Mr. Slater, and writes as follows :

“ You have probably seen Edward Howard—a most extraordinary individual. This big Yorkshireman, of good mental capacity, was a very giant in size, rotund, rosy, and jolly to a remarkable degree. It is impossible for the ‘ milksons ’ of our degenerate age to conceive of the grand fashion in which Howard and his boon companions drank rum and sung songs, making these hills and valleys vocal with their huge carousals.

“ With all his faults, which were not few, Howard had a soft heart, which brought the tear of pity to his eye at the recital of a tale of distress. His miserable end will produce a feeling of sadness with those who knew him in his prosperity. He returned to Yorkshire, I am informed, a few years since, and after working a while for wages, at last died at an advanced age in a house of charity.

“ Please pardon this long tale about one who, I suppose, may have been well known to you. Howard seems to belong to the history of this region.”

It may be said appropriately here, that Bela Tiffany, John Tyson, and Edward Howard were the chief managers—the pioneers and moving spirits—that executed the plans of Mr. Slater in founding what is now the principal business of Webster, and that which furnishes its chief prosperity and growth as a town.

Mr. Tiffany, after retiring from the business here, entered upon the commission sale of American cotton and wool manufactures in Boston and New York, and made that a special business till about 1832, when he retired from active labors with a moderate competency, and located himself and family at Southbridge, where he maintained a favorable social position; having been connected with the founding of the Southbridge bank, and many public improvements there, and representing that town in the Legislature. He died, June 29, 1851, aged 65,

and his remains and those of his first wife, and Caroline, Mrs. Stow, his youngest daughter, were buried in the cemetery at Southbridge. Mrs. Tiffany died, April 16, 1839, aged 52, and the daughter Caroline died, November 13, 1859, aged 39.

It was during the severe monetary crisis of 1829 that Mr. Slater sold his third interest in the old Pawtucket mill, where the firm of Almy, Brown & Slater spun the first yarn on frames propelled by water, that was produced by this process in America.

He also sold at this time his one fourth part of the Smithfield Manufacturing Company's property, William Almy being the purchaser of both estates.

But while selling these parts of mills he received the large steam cotton-mill in Providence, and other estates, by which, as the manufacturing business revived, his wealth became greatly advanced.

This return of prosperity brought him to the height of his renown as a manufacturer, and as a clear-sighted, thorough, and practical business man.

It may be affirmed that, while nearly all parties who were among the pioneers in establishing the manufacture of cotton and wool, in this country, were unsuccessful, Mr. Slater always provided fully for all his engagements.

He was among the first, if not the earliest, who engaged in the manufacture of broadcloths, and this at the east village in this town, under the charge of Mr. Howard, before referred to, in 1814, which business, with the exception of from 1852 to about 1862, has been continued up to the present time, while all other parties engaged in the manufacture of broadcloth have either failed or voluntarily discontinued that branch of the woolen manufacture.

Mr. Samuel Slater made this town his residence many years, and died here on the 20th of April, 1835, aged 67. No man of his time engaged in business in this country was more gen-

erally known or maintained more highly his integrity for fair and honorable dealing, or whose moral worth was more highly regarded. His naturally kind feelings inclined him to acts of benevolence, and no one with a just claim for favor left him without partaking of his liberality.

The extensive manufacturing business systematized and conducted here advantageously by Mr. Slater has since been carried on under the direction of his son, Horatio N. Slater, Esq., with equal success, for the joint benefit of the surviving heirs, and of whom it may be said that he ably sustains all the valuable characteristics of his father.

The rise and progress of this business has made the town of Webster; and whatever belongs to its history and that of this family, is but a part of the history of this town; and thus both must be treated in such connection.

It is known by persons generally acquainted with the history of American manufactures, particularly of the cotton manufacture in the United States, that Mr. Slater was by birth an Englishman, and continued to reside in his native country until he arrived at the age of manhood.

During the period from the age of fourteen years to that of twenty-one he served an apprenticeship with Jedediah Strutt, an eminent cotton manufacturer, who was associated in a partnership in this business with the celebrated inventor of the water-power spinning machinery, Richard Arkwright.

It was during this apprenticeship that young Slater became an expert by his close application and attention to all parts, with both the manufacture of the machinery, and of the cotton by the same; that made him in every respect a competent manufacturer of cotton, and of the machinery upon which the goods were made.

He had served in all its parts, from the beginning with the raw cotton through the different processes till yarn was produced. He also worked at the manufacture of the machinery

upon which this process was carried on ; was a practical mechanic, and understood perfectly the mode of construction of all its parts, through the picking, carding, roping, and spinning ; which knowledge was the capital he employed in commencing his successful career of business in America.

Mr. Slater proved himself a practical example that knowledge is power ; and no better example can be found for the rising youth of our country ? It demonstrates the problem that self-reliance and an application of individual power is far more sure of success and ultimate eminence and respectability than all the inherited wealth or character of renowned ancestry.

When about completing his seven years of apprenticeship, there fell under his notice an offer of a premium from parties in Philadelphia for any person who could introduce the Arkwright machinery into the United States, and other notices of the demand for skilled labor in this branch of manufacture. This circumstance attracted his attention to the advantages to be gained by the knowledge he possessed, by turning it to account in the rising business in this new government.

Under the English laws he knew he could not take with him any models or tools, or even drafts, without great hazard, and having decided to embark for America, he left his native land as a plain country farmer ; but when ready to sail placed a letter in the post for his mother (his father having deceased when he was but fourteen years of age), informing her that he had left the country for the United States. He left Derbyshire, his native place, for London, September 1, 1789 ; on the 13th sailed for New York, and after sixty-six days arrived in that city. He soon became acquainted with the New York Manufacturing Company, and engaged in their business ; but this proved unsatisfactory to him.

While here, through an introduction to a captain of a Providence packet, he learned of Moses Brown, who was engaged

in the cotton manufacture at Providence. He had thought of going to Philadelphia, but, through the advice of this captain, he addressed the following letter to Mr. Brown :

“NEW YORK, December 2, 1789.

“SIR—A few days ago I was informed that you wanted a manager of cotton, spinning, &c., in which business I flatter myself that I can give the greatest satisfaction in making machinery, making good yarn, either for stockings, or for twist, as any that is made in England, as I have had opportunity, and an oversight of Sir Richard Arkwright’s works, and in Mr. Strutt’s mill, upwards of eight years. If you are not provided for, should be glad to serve you, though I am in the New York manufactory, and have been three weeks since I arrived from England. But we have but one card, two machines, two spinning jennies, which I think are not worth using. My encouragement is pretty good, but should much rather have the care of the perpetual carding and spinning. My intention is to erect a perpetual carding and spinning (meaning the Arkwright patents). If you please to drop a line respecting the amount of encouragement you wish to give, by favor of Captain Brown, you will much oblige, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

“SAMUEL SLATER.

“P. S.—Please to direct to me at No. 37 Golden Hill, New York.

“Mr. Brown, Providence.”

Mr. Brown replied as follows :

“PROVIDENCE, 10th, 12th month, 1789.

“FRIEND—I received thine of 2d instant, and observe its contents. I, or rather Almy & Brown, who have the business in the cotton line which I began, one being my son-in-law and the other a kinsman, want the assistance of a person skilled in the frame or water spinning. An experiment has been made, which has failed, no person being acquainted with the business, and the frames imperfect.

We are destitute of a person acquainted with water-frame spinning; thy being already engaged in a factory with many able proprietors, we can hardly suppose we can give thee encouragement adequate to leaving thy present employ. As the frame we have is the first attempt of the kind that has been made in America, it is too imperfect to afford much encouragement; we hardly know what to say to thee, but if thou thought thou couldst perfect and conduct them to profit, if thou will come and do it, thou shalt have all the profits made of them over and above the interest on the money they cost, and the wear and tear of them. We will find stock, and be repaid in yarn as we may agree, for six months.

And this we do for the information thou can give, if fully acquainted with the business. After this, if we find the business profitable, we can enlarge it, or before, if sufficient proof of it be had on trial, and can make any further agreement that may appear best and agreeable on all sides. We have secured only a temporary water convenience; but, if we find the business profitable, can perpetuate one that is convenient. If thy prospects should be better, and thou should know of any other person unengaged, should be obliged to thee to mention us to him. In the mean time, shall be glad to be informed whether thou come or not. If thy present situation does not come up to what thou wishest, and, from thy knowledge of business, can be ascertained of the advantages of the mills, so as to induce thee to come and work ours, and have the *credit* as well as the advantage of perfecting the *first* mill in America, we should be glad to engage thy care so long as it can be made profitable to both, and we can agree. I am, for myself and Almy & Brown, thy friend,

“MOSES BROWN.

“Samuel Slater, at 37 Golden Hill, New York.”

Mr. Slater having received the above letter, and considered the inducements it appeared to hold out to him, decided to visit Providence, to have a personal interview with Mr. Brown and his partners, and left New York in January, 1790, for that purpose.

On arriving at Providence, and meeting Mr. Brown, he assured him that he was capable of performing all he had promised by his letter, and as corroborate evidence he exhibited to him his indenture with Mr. Strutt, who spun at that time the best yarn in England.

He then visited, with Mr. Brown, the mill and machinery (such as it was) at Pawtucket. On sight of this he shook his head, and exhibited much disappointment. He said, “These will not do; they are good for nothing; nor can they be made of any value for making yarn; they are only valuable for old iron.”

After some consultation on the subject, it was proposed and agreed between the parties that Mr. Slater should construct a set of the Arkwright machines for manufacturing cotton into yarn, with the promise of a suitable mechanic to aid

him, who was competent to work on the part to be made of wood. "With such assistance," said he, "if I do not make as good yarn as they do in England, I will have nothing for my services." Upon this understanding a contract was made under the following

" AGREEMENT.

"This agreement, made between William Almy and Smith Brown of the one part, and Samuel Slater of the other part, *Witnesseth*: That the said parties have mutually agreed to be concerned together, in and to carry on the spinning of cotton by water (of which the said Samuel professes himself a workman well skilled in all its branches), upon the following terms, viz.: That the said Almy and Brown, on their part, are to turn in the machinery which they have already purchased, at the price it cost them, and to furnish materials for the building of two carding-machines (a breaker and finisher), a drawing and roving machine; and to extend the spinning-mills, or frames, to 100 spindles.

"And the said Samuel, on his part, covenants and agrees to devote his whole time and service, and to exert his skill according to the best of his abilities, and have the same effected in a workmanlike manner, similar to those used in England, for the like purpose. And it is mutually agreed between the said parties that the said Samuel shall be considered as owner and proprietor in one half of the machinery aforesaid, and accountable for one half of the expense that hath arisen, or shall arise, from the building, purchasing, or repairing of the same; but not to sell or in any manner dispose of any part or parcel thereof, to any other person or persons, excepting the said Almy and Brown; neither shall any others be entitled to hold any right, interest, or claim in any part of the said machinery, by virtue of any right which the said Slater shall or may derive from these presents, unless by an agreement expressed in writing from the said Almy and Brown—first had and obtained—unless the said Slater has punctually paid one half of the cost of the said machinery, with interest thereon; nor then, until he has offered the same to the said Almy and Brown in writing upon the lowest terms, that he will sell or dispose of his part of the said machinery to any other person—and instructed the said Almy and Brown, or some others by them appointed, in the full and perfect knowledge of the use of the machinery and the art of water-spinning.

"And it is further agreed, that the said Samuel, as a full and adequate compensation for his whole time and services, both while in constructing and making the machinery, and in conducting and executing the spinning, and preparing to spin on the same, after every expense

arising from the business is defrayed, including the usual commissions of two and a half per cent. for purchasing the stock, and four per cent. for disposing of the yarn, shall receive one half of the profits, which shall be ascertained by settlement from time to time, as occasion may require; and the said Almy and Brown the other half; the said Almy and Brown to be employed in the purchasing of the stock and disposing of the yarn.

“And it is further covenanted, that this indenture shall make void and supersede other articles of agreement between the said Almy and Brown and the said Slater, and that it shall be considered to commence, and the conditions mentioned in it be binding upon the parties from the beginning of the business; the said Samuel to be at the expense of his own time and board from thenceforward.

“And it is also agreed that if the said Almy and Brown choose to put an apprentice to the business, that they have liberty to do so. The expenses arising from the maintenance of whom, and the advantages derived from their services during the time the said Almy and Brown may think proper to continue them in the business, shall be equally borne and received as is above provided for the expense and profits of the business. It is also to be understood, that whatever is advanced by the said Almy and Brown, either for the said Slater, or to carry on his part of the business, is to be repaid them with interest thereon, for which purpose they are to receive all the yarn that may be made, the one half of which on their own account, and the other half they are to receive and dispose of on account of the said Slater, the net proceeds of which they are to credit him, towards their advance, and stocking his part of the works, so that the business may go forward.

“In witness whereof, the parties to these presents have interchangeably set their hands this fifth day of the fourth month, seventeen hundred and ninety.

“Witness:

“OZIEL WILKINSON,
“ABRAHAM WILKINSON.

“WM. ALMY,
“SMITH BROWN.
“SAMUEL SLATER.”

It took nearly one year for Mr. Slater to complete the machines according to the foregoing agreement.

The following letter (being a part of one written by Moses Brown to John Dexter, of the Beverly cotton-mill) will show nearly the time when Mr. Slater begun spinning yarn from cotton at Pawtucket; the first spun by water-power in America:

“PROVIDENCE, 19th of 4th month, 1791.

“My son-in-law, William Almy, has handed me three sizes of cotton yarn; a lay of each I inclose for your inspection. Almy & Brown, who conduct the business of cotton manufactory, with an English workman from Arkwright's works (have often fourteen laborers of the various mechanics necessary), completed the water-spinning machines to the perfection as to make the inclosed yarn, the former mule which I had purchased, made from the State's model at Bridgewater, proving not to answer. The weavers inform me the yarn works better (Slater's yarn) than any linen they have had, and takes less trouble to warp and weave it.

“As the doubling and twisting mill, by water, is not as yet ready, Almy & Brown have had a number of pieces of thicksets and fancy goods, made of single warps, which appear much superior to any linen warps.

“The two coarsest inclosed answer this purpose; the finest would answer for cords, velvets, etc., when doubled and twisted. If you should incline to try some warps, they can supply you with almost any size, weekly, monthly, or quarterly; that of about twelve skeins to the pound at 6d. per skein of 1,200 yards.

“Coarser or finer will vary some. As we find that warps can not be made equally as good on jennies, and apprehending that you wish to perfect the cotton manufacture, so as to preclude foreign manufacture, induces us to make the offer of supplying you in preference to any other works.

“Thy or the company's answer will be attended to by Almy & Brown, and thy friend,

“MOSES BROWN.

“P. S.—To be communicated to the proprietors of Beverly Factory.”*

Mr. Slater possessed none of the traits of character of the cockneys or ordinary English mechanics, or operatives, that usually find their way to this country.

While he had the most entire confidence in his skill and ability, he was modest in his deportment and cautious; weighing well the import of his promises and assertions, taking care

* The Beverly Cotton Manufacturing Company was incorporated, February 3, 1789, the first incorporated company, it is believed, in the United States, for the manufacture of either cotton or wool. The corporators were: John Cabot, George Cabot, Deborah Cabot, Andrew Cabot, Moses Brown, of Providence, Joshua Fisher, Israel Thorndike, James Leonard, Thomas Somers, Isaac Chapman, and Henry Higginson, to be named “The Proprietors of the Beverly Cotton Manufactory;” with a capital of £10,000 in real estate, and £80,000 personal estate.

to excite no expectations that he could not bring to a full realization.

Thus when he had labored long and brought his machinery nearly to the point of moving and producing yarn from cotton of the perfection of that made in England upon the celebrated Arkwright machinery, agreeably to what he had promised, there was some slight defect that prevented the machinery from moving to accomplish the expected result.

To remedy this, he studied and examined all its parts, and yet for a time the machinery could not be moved. This unexpected state of things gave him intense pain, mentally; he knew he had acted honestly, and should he not succeed he had a dread of the idea of being thought an impostor, which would be likely to be imputed to him; but fortunately, after sleeping over the difficulty, his mind was directed to a trifling part of the machinery which before had escaped his attention. This being placed in order the best and most perfect results that he had promised now followed. His mind was relieved, and to the great satisfaction of all parties concerned, yarn equal to that promised was produced. Some of the yarn which Mr. Slater first spun, and some cotton cloth, the first made in America from his yarn, was sent to the Secretary of the United States to be preserved in the Treasury department, the 15th of October, 1791, and was preserved there many years, and may possibly remain there at this time.

Previous to the arrival of Samuel Slater in this country, in 1789, there had been introduced into the United States, at Providence, New York, Beverly, Worcester, and Bridgewater, jennies, billies, and cards for spinning cotton into yarn; these machines were of English invention, probably by James Hargraves, or perhaps Thomas Highs, or Lewis, Paul who preceded Sir Richard Arkwright; but these machines were of such an imperfect character as to preclude any valuable or profitable use of them, and it began to be regarded as doubt-

ful by many as to the ability of our people competing in this manufacture, unless much greater improvement could be made in machinery adapted to the business.

Such was the state of the business when Mr. Slater first appeared in this field of enterprise, in the United States.

The remarks of the Hon. Tristram Burgess, of Rhode Island, on this subject, at a subsequent period, are appropriate in this connection :

“A circumstance worthy of the attention of the whole nation, and worthy also of a fair page in her history, is the art and mystery of making cloth with machinery moved by water-power. This was introduced into Rhode Island, and commenced in Pawtucket, four miles from Providence, about the same time that the American system was established by the Impost law of July 4, 1789. Samuel Slater, an English mechanic of the first order of mental ability, brought this invention to Pawtucket. He could not bring out from England, models, drafts, or specifications. The whole art was treasured in his own mind; that alone, which could not be rummaged and pillaged by any custom-house officers. He, on his arrival, addressed himself to Oziel Wilkinson and sons.”

This is a mistake, as Mr. Slater (as has before been stated) addressed himself first to Moses Brown (a man remarkable for his ability and energy, and also for his ardent feeling and enterprise, in favor of introducing this branch of manufacture into the United States), and his son-in-law, William Almy, and his nephew, Smith Brown; but through the mechanical skill of Oziel Wilkinson and his sons, Mr. Slater, no doubt, derived much aid; and it is well known that when he established himself at Pawtucket he found his lodgings and board in this Mr. Wilkinson's family, and soon after married his daughter, which will be more particularly referred to in another place; which alliance, with a mutual taste and labors in this line, formed a close intimacy and a strong and lasting friendship between Mr. Slater and this family.

“They (the Wilkinsons) were blacksmiths, whose hands were as skillful as their minds were intelligent and persevering. I have often thought

Divine Providence directed Slater, and brought him to lay his project before the Wilkinsons, because he had not fitted any other men in this country with minds and abilities, either to see, and at once to comprehend the immense benefit of it, or to understand and perform what must be understood and performed, to bring this scheme into full and perfect operation.

“The law of July 4, 1789, was enacted by the almost unanimous voice of the whole nation. By this law the great scheme was commenced.

“The law of protection, enacted in 1816, was equally national; men from the east, the north, the south, and the west, equally supported the measure. The bill was laid before the house by the lamented Lowndes, of South Carolina. It was advocated, in every stage of its progress, by another distinguished individual of the same State (John C. Calhoun). When it passed the house, Hall and Lumpkin, of Georgia, Canon and Powell, of Tennessee, Barret and Barbour, of Virginia, voted in favor of its passage. So far as the bill related to the cotton trade it was enacted with the sole view to the protection of that great and increasing interest.

“It was then known and acknowledged, though it seems now to be forgotten, that this law for the protection of the cotton trade was founded on a most able, luminous, and statesmanlike report, made to that Congress by the chairman of the committee on commerce, another distinguished gentleman from Virginia, Mr. Newton.”*

* The following are the dates and character of the several tariffs enacted by the Congress of the United States :

No. 1, July 4, 1789. Specific and ad valorem rates. The ad valorem from 5 to 15 per cent.

No. 2, August 10, 1790. Specific and ad valorem rates. The ad valorem range 3 to 15½ per cent., entitled, “An Act Making Further Provision for the Payment of the Debts of the United States.” The free list very small.

No. 3, March 3, 1791. This act only affected spirits paying specific duties.

No. 4, May 2, 1792. Specific and ad valorem rates; latter from 7½ to 15 per cent. This act was for raising a sum of money to protect the frontiers and other purposes.

No. 5, June 7, 1794. Specific and ad valorem; latter from 10 to 20 per cent. The purpose for raising additional duties.

No. 6, January 29, 1795. This additional act affected but few articles. Specific 5, and ad valorem 10 to 20 per cent.

No. 7, March 3, 1797. This act affected but few articles. Specific 10, and the ad valorem 15 per cent.

No. 8, July 8, 1797. This act was duties on salt, 20 cts. per bushel.

No. 9, May 13, 1800. This act applied to few articles. Specific and ad valorem, the latter 12½ per cent.

No. 10, March 26, 1804. This was an addition of duties of 2½ per cent. ad valorem, called the “Mediterranean Fund,” to pay expense of the war against the Barbary powers.

No. 11, March 27, 1804. This was specific altogether, and for collecting light money on foreign vessels.

No. 12, July 1, 1812. This act was for war purposes (called the “Last British War),” imposing double duties upon all goods, wares, and merchandise from all countries. Vote, was in house, 76 yeas, 48 nays; senate, 20 yeas, 9 nays.

No. 13, July 29, 1815. This act levied 20 cts. per bushel of 56 pounds on salt; it also

The first spinning-frame built by Mr. Slater, at Pawtucket, had but 24 spindles, but he added soon after 48 more, besides two carding-machines, and drawing and roping-machines, making a complete preparation for spinning.

granted a bounty on pickled fish exported, and allowances to vessels employed in the fisheries; this is the first act favoring fishermen and the fisheries.

No. 14, February 15, 1816. This act continued the act No. 12, imposing double duties of July 4, 1812; continued until June 30, 1817, and after that time until a new law shall be enacted. This act did not take effect, being superseded by the act, April 27, 1816.

No. 15, April 27, 1816. Specific, minimum, and ad valorem, the latter ranging from $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 30 per cent. The whole tariff system was now remodeled. The minimum feature now for the first time was introduced and applied to cotton cloths of a certain description, and on cotton twist, yarn, and thread. This was the first tariff adopted as a protective act. Vote in house, 88 to 54 against; vote in senate, 25 to 7 against.

No. 16, April 20, 1818. This act only referred to seven articles paying specific duties.

No. 17, April 20, 1818. This act affected duties only on 13 articles.

No. 18, March 3, 1819. This act related only to wines, fixing rate of duty 20 cts. and 25 cts. a gallon.

No. 19, May 22, 1824. This was an amendatory act, changing the whole system of duties on imports. It consisted of specifics, ad valorems, compounds, and minimums; in addition to cotton yarn and cloth, and thread, the minimum system extended to Leghorn hats and bonnets; hats or bonnets of straw, chip, or grass; the ad valorem ranged from 12 to 50 per cent. The anti-tariff feeling now commenced in the cotton States.

No. 20, May 19, 1828. This act changed the rates of duties named therein—specific, ad valorem, compound, and minimums, and extended the latter to the manufactures of wool, which was divided into four classes: 1st. Not exceeding in value 50 cts., shall be deemed to cost 50 cts. 2d. Goods exceeding 50 cts. and not over \$1.00, shall be deemed to cost \$1.00. 3d. Those exceeding \$1.00, and not exceeding \$2.50, shall be deemed to cost \$2.50. 4th. That shall exceed \$2.50, and not exceed \$4.00, shall be deemed to cost \$4.00, and thereon to pay a duty of 45 per cent.; and wool was taxed 4 cts. per pound; 40 cts. ad valorem for one year, 45 for two years, and, thereafter, 50 per cent in addition. The votes were, house, 105 to 94 nays; the votes were, senate, 26 to 21 nays. The sentiment among members of the same State in all parts of the Union differed; some favored and others opposed.

No. 21, May 24, 1828. This referred to wines, the duties ranging from 10 cts. to 50 cts. per gallon.

No. 22, May 20, 1830. This act reduced the duties on coffee, tea, and cocoa, these rates being specific.

No. 23, May 29, 1830. This act reduced rates on molasses to 5 cts. per gallon, and allowed duties as drawbacks on spirits distilled from foreign materials.

No. 24, May 29, 1830. This act applied to salt, reducing duties to 15 cts. for 56 pounds.

No. 25, July 13, 1832. This act applied to French wines, to carry out a treaty concluded July 4, 1831. Duties, specific.

No. 26, July 14, 1832. This act was to alter and amend several acts imposing duties on imports. The free list was made larger, and many articles were subjected to a compound duty, specific and ad valorem; the latter ranging from 5 to 50 per cent., and the minimums now only applied to cotton cloths, twist, yarns, and thread.

No. 27, March 2, 1833. This act affected but few articles, relating to hardware, copper, and brass, seven articles.

No. 28, March 2, 1833. This was an act, entitled, "An Act to Modify the Act of July 14, 1832, and All Other Acts Imposing Duties on Imports," commonly known as "Henry Clay's Compromise Act." The object was to make a gradual reduction of duties to a horizontal base of 20 per cent., ad valorem standard. This was the effect of the Nullification

He spun both warp and filling on the same frames (then styled the "Water Frames," or the "Arkwright Patent"), up to 1803. His manufacturing at this time and for several years

attempt of South Carolina, made by Mr. Clay for pacification. A gradual reduction of all duties in excess of 20 per cent. was as follows: One tenth of such excess, December 31, 1833; one tenth, December 31, 1835; one tenth, December 31, 1837; and another tenth, December 31, 1839; and then half of the remaining excess over 20 per cent., December 31, 1841; and the balance of such excess, December 31, 1842, which now left only one uniform tariff of duties of 20 per cent. This act for a time terminated the jealousy of the South, until it was revived again by the agitation of the slavery question.

The influence of the South now prevailed in Congress, and with a design to humble the North, by depressing its industrial pursuits, as the following act will show.

No. 29, September 11, 1841. This act related somewhat to drawbacks, but also fixed the range of duties on many articles at only $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., soap at 20 per cent., and extended largely the free list; the whole act, as might have been expected, was regarded in England with great favor, striking a severe blow to American manufactures. It was passed by the influence of the South as a retaliation for the high tariffs of 1828 and 1832.

A reaction in public sentiment was created by the sluggish state of all kinds of industrial affairs, and a partial return to the system of encouragement to American industry was now effected as follows:

No. 30, August 30, 1842. Establishing again specific, minimum, compound, and ad valorem duties, the latter ranging from 1 to 50 per cent.

No. 31, July 30, 1846. This act gives ad valorem duties exclusively, for the first time ranging from 5 to 100 per cent., and was the result of the Southern influence.

No. 32, March 3, 1857. This act also adopted the exclusive ad valorem plan, and reduced duties ranging from 4 to 30 per cent., and also extended largely the free list; this was about the last legislative act carried by the South as a retaliatory measure designed as an offset to Northern interference with the slave institution.

No. 33, an act which took effect, April 1, 1861, favored manufactures; it embraced several principles—ad valorem, specific, compound, etc., exhibiting the influence of Northern minds, having originated at the point when culminated the strife for power in the government between the North and South.

This was a contest between slavery and freedom, or slave labor and free labor. The South, failing to secure a predominance in the government by the failure to elect their choice for chief magistrate, resorted to the force of arms, and by the result the power of the North was greatly strengthened.

The changes in the tariff since have been mainly governed by the necessities of the country and not by sectional interests, however much they favor the interest of manufactures.

Although the question of free and slave labor has been definitely closed, yet not so the question of labor with that of capital.

The tendency at the present time is to bring into opposition those who produce from the soil and those of the manufacturing interest. At present this latter question appears at the West and South, to be uniting under the name of "Grangers," for the purpose, as set forth, to oppose railroad monopoly; but the under current is tending against the tariff system as a source of protection to the manufacturing interest.

Incidental protection to manufactures is unavoidable, so long as our national debt continues at its present magnitude, and it must be much reduced before any considerable change in our present tariff can be made; still, the tendency of the time is to raise a new issue of a local character, which will be likely to create sectional animosity between the West and North. The tendency to railroad monopoly is a serious evil, and will no doubt command the especial attention of all political parties; but this, so far as relates to fares for passengers, will not be so essential as affecting the great producing interest.

later was confined to the spinning of yarns; all the cloth woven at this period was by families, a process long existing as a necessity for preparing clothing for domestic purposes.

As the yarns accumulated on his hands, Mr. Slater availed himself at a later period of this family process, making cloth by hand-loom, which was about the time he erected his works at this place. This mode was soon superseded by the invention and introduction of the power-loom, operated by water, introduced into the United States by the Waltham Manufacturing Company, in the year 1814, but did not generally prevail until eight or ten years later.

Up to 1798 he operated the first old mill, at Pawtucket, in company with William Almy and Smith Brown; but through his connection with the family of Oziel Wilkinson, whose daughter he married, October 2, 1791, he introduced into his cotton business Timothy Green and William Wilkinson, who had married his wife's sisters, and his father-in-law, who formed a new company in this business, and erected the second cotton-mill at Pawtucket, on the east side of the river, Mr. Slater furnishing one half of the capital.

The Wilkinson family possessed a natural genius for the science of mechanics, and at the time Mr. Slater made his acquaintance with them, the elder (Oziel Wilkinson) was a blacksmith; but having an inventive mind, he had introduced the manufacture of steel from iron, known as blister steel, and

As that the high rates of freight which may prove a severe burden in making exchanges between the sea-board and the interior, will continue to be a source of ill-feeling between the Eastern and Western sections of the country, and particularly for the reason that the capital engaged in that great enterprise is owned mostly at the East.

On reflecting upon this subject, with a view to a remedy for reducing the cost of transportation, the idea has been suggested that roads should be constructed exclusively for the transport of products to and from the interior to the sea-board, with double tracks, to be free for the use of any and all parties at a very moderate rate of toll to run upon them. These roads to be operated only at a speed of eight to ten miles the hour, which would be a great saving of expense of repairs to the roads, and also in the cost of running trains. Such roads should be owned by the general government; and were the repairs of such roads to be exclusively at the expense of the government it would save tolls, and greatly reduce cost of transportation.

through his knowledge and the skill of his sons he derived much aid. His family consisted of three daughters, married as aforesaid, and five sons—David, Daniel, Isaac, Abraham, and Smith Wilkinson—all engaged in the business of cotton manufacture.

Oziel Wilkinson, his two sons-in-law, before named, and his five sons, with James Christie and William Rhodes, united, in 1806, and formed the Pawtucket Manufacturing Company, on the Quinebaug, at the place then known as “Cargill’s Mills.” They bought here, in 1806, about 1,000 acres of land, and invested, in the two following years, sixty thousand dollars.

At the time of the commencement of the British war in 1812, Mr. Slater had arrived at a degree of success in the cotton manufacture, that enabled him to reap great advantage from the high price of fabrics, consequent upon closing the markets of the country against European goods.

He had previously (in 1806) invited his brother, John, to come to this country, who came and united with him and his partners, Brown & Almy, and erected the cotton-mill at Smithfield in the years 1806 and 1807, each having one fourth interest.

It has been seen by the foregoing purchases of the farm lands and water-power by Mr. Slater at Webster, and his advancement here in both the wool and cotton manufacture, his perception regarding the future result was ample. He foresaw that a rapid advance of population would follow: consequently as rapid an advance in the surrounding lands; furthermore, it enabled him to control the principal affairs of the place, and to prevent any intrusion upon his plans.

As has before been stated, one object in establishing mills in this interior was to introduce his yarn for weaving into cloth. While at Pawtucket his manufacture was principally yarn for sale, but now his plan was to produce cloth. The process for effecting this was to consign his yarn to country

traders, and they to introduce the same among the wives and daughters of farmers and mechanics, to be woven into cloth.

This plan was successful; it was deemed a favor by the female department of families to obtain this yarn for weaving, as it enabled them to earn the means to pay the merchants for their necessary supplies. Each merchant distributed these yarns over a tract of six to ten miles from his store. The usual price paid for taking away the yarn and returning it in cloth was 4 cents per yard for $\frac{3}{4}$ yard wide plain cloth; 6 cents for 4-4th wide do; 6 cents for $\frac{3}{4}$ wide stripes; 8 cents for $\frac{3}{4}$ wide plaids; 10 cents for $\frac{3}{4}$ wide bed-ticks; and $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents for 4-4th wide do. This business continued from about 1812 to 1823.

The power-loom introduced in 1814, as before stated, did not supersede the hand-loom in this connection until about ten years later. But the carding, spinning, and weaving in families for domestic purposes was not displaced by the power-loom for many years after factories had ceased to employ the hand-loom for weaving their yarns.

The weaving of woolen yarn, by the manufacturers of wool cloth, by the hand-loom was continued till about 1823, when it was generally abandoned by substituting the power-loom for weaving these fabrics.

The persons employed by manufacturers for weaving woolen cloth by the hand-loom were generally English operatives, who, as a class, were ignorant about all things but their trade of weaving, and much inclined to intemperance, which introduced a class of population about each establishment no ways creditable to morals or respectable society. When the power-loom was introduced this class regarded it as an infringement upon their rights, and in many instances their opposition caused a serious disturbance of the peace.

This disturbance was but another example of what is sometimes called "Conservatism." All progress is but change from

past usefulness to new or better theories or principles, and is generally the product of that which is most valuable either in science or art.

It is worthy of remark in connection with an historical sketch of the life and labors of Samuel Slater, that a remarkable coincidence exists between the time of his coming to America, to found the system of manufacturing of cotton wool by machinery propelled by water-power, and the perfecting of the mode of culture of the cotton-plant, its commencement as an article of export as an American product, and the invention of the cotton-gin by Eli Whitney.

The date of Mr. Slater's coming to America is nearly identical with the first exports of raw cotton as an American product, and not till about that time had the process for cultivating the cotton-plant been so successful as to make it an object to continue its growth to any considerable extent, nor could that cultivation have ever been largely increased as a profitable source of industry without the invention of the machine by Eli Whitney, or one of a similar character, to fit and prepare the cotton at little expense so as to admit of its extensive use for manufacture or export.

Thus it is clearly seen that it was by these contemporaneous results that the product from the cotton-plant has become a vast source of wealth and industry; not alone applicable to those who cultivate the soil, but to those who toil or invest in manufacturing establishments, for converting this fibrous material into many valuable forms of both elegance and utility, and to those "who go down to the sea in ships," dotting every ocean and inlet with the universal emblems of commerce.

There were some small lots of cotton cultivated in South Carolina which appear among her exports as early as the year 1748, and some in 1754, and again in 1770; but the permanent establishment of the culture of cotton in this country was not until about 1787, from which period may be traced the

continuous and rapid increase of this staple, as a product of the Southern States of this Union.

While the year 1791 may be taken as the date for the commencement of the manufacture of cotton under the present system for the operation of machinery by water-power; the year 1793 is given as the date of Mr. Whitney's invention of the cotton-gin.

Thus within a period of six years the grand practical principles were established, that brought into existence in the United States the vast industrial pursuits, the production, manufacture, and commerce, resulting from the cotton business.

Samuel Slater was born in the town of Belper, in the county of Derby, June 9, 1768, and entered upon his service with Jedediah Strutt, June 28, 1782, about the age of fourteen years.

Eli Whitney was born at Westborough, Worcester county, Massachusetts, December 8, 1765. He presented his petition for a patent of his invention the 20th of June, 1793—Mr. Jefferson, then the Secretary of State, and the seat of government being at this time at Philadelphia—but the patent was not obtained until several months later.

He was a graduate of Yale college in 1792, married Henrietta, daughter of Pierpont Edwards, 1817, and died, January 3, 1825. Two daughters and a son survived him.

Samuel Slater was not only the founder of the cotton manufacture in this country, but, unlike many who are able to discover a principle, or to introduce an important discovery or invention, yet often are not competent to conduct the business or principle to a practical and successful issue, he possessed those qualities, and a persistency of purpose that enabled him to take the lead in the manufacturing business of the country, and to sustain this reputation by actual results, up to the time of his death, which, as before related, occurred in 1835.

But in the midst of this high state of prosperity he had great misfortune and grief, in the loss of his beloved wife, in 1812, then in the 37th year of her age.

The children by this marriage, which was solemnized the 2d of October, 1791, were as follows :

William Slater,	born,	August 31, 1796;	died,	January 31, 1801
Elizabeth Slater,	"	November 15, 1798;	"	November 4, 1801
Mary Slater,	"	September 28, 1801;	"	August 19, 1803
Samuel Slater,	"	September 18, 1802;	"	July 14, 1821
George Bassett Slater,	"	February 12, 1804;	"	November 15, 1843
John Slater,	"	May 23, 1805;	"	January 23, 1838
Horatio N. Slater,	"	March 5, 1808;		
William Slater,	"	October 15, 1809;	"	September 1825
Thomas Graham Slater,	"	September 19, 1812;	"	1844

Mrs. Slater (Hannah Wilkinson) died soon after the birth of her last child. After about five years Mr. Slater married his second wife, Esther Parkinson, of Philadelphia; the ceremony was performed by Rev. Joseph Pilmore, rector of St. Paul's church in that city.

She was the widow of Robert Parkinson, who had been an acquaintance of Mr. Slater many years, and this lady had known his former wife, who esteemed her very highly. The following is Mr. Slater's letter proposing this marriage :

" NORTH PROVIDENCE, Rhode Island, September 23, 1817.

" *Mrs. Robert Parkinson, Widow, Philadelphia :*

DEAR MADAM—As the Wise Disposer of all Events has seen fit in His wisdom to place you and me in a single state, notwithstanding, none of his decrees have gone forth which compels either of us to remain in a state of widowhood.

"Therefore, under these and other circumstances, I now take the liberty to address you on a momentous subject. I have been inclined for some time past to change my situation in life, and have at times named you to my brother and sister for a partner, who have invariably recommended you as suitable, and have fully acquiesced with my ideas on the subject. Now, if you are under no obligations to any one, and weighing the subject fully, you should think that you can spend the remainder of your days with me, I hope you will not feel reluctant in

writing me soon to that effect. You need not be abashed in any degree to express your mind on this business, for I trust years have taught me to receive your reply favorably, if my understanding has not. I have six sons to comfort you with; the eldest is about fifteen years; he has been at Oxford about a year (not Oxford in England); the youngest is in his sixth year; I believe they are all *compos mentis*, and they are as active as any six boys, although they are mine. Cousin Mary is now down from Ludlow on a visit; she has a noble corpulent son about six months old. I should have divulged my intentions to you months past had not my brother given me to understand that he expected you daily on this way on a visit.

“Probably you may consider me rather blunt in this business; hope you will attribute that to the country that gave me birth. I consider myself a plain, candid Englishman, and hope and trust you will be candid enough to write me a short answer, at least, whether it be in the affirmative or negative; and should it be in the negative, I stand ready and willing to render you all the advice and assistance in my power relative to settling your worldly matters.

“With due respect, as a friend and countryman, I am, dear madam, your well-wisher,

“SAMUEL SLATER.

“N. B.—Hope you are a Freemason as respects secrets.”

Mr. Slater, in this letter, exhibits his character very truthfully. He says, very truly:

“I consider myself a plain, candid Englishman.”

He was frank and direct in his letters, and in his actions, naturally benevolent and kind of heart, and particularly to his countrymen, to whom he was always ready to give good advice, and often pecuniary aid. His disbursements in this way were free from ostentation, and often in private, and generally with words of kindness and encouragement.

It is proper to remark further respecting the manufacturing interest in this town, that, as heretofore, it having been the chief source of growth and prosperity, there has never been a time when that business was so extensively carried on as now; and it is believed under the entire control and ownership of Samuel Slater & Sons, by which style the business has been conducted since, as before Mr. Samuel Slater's decease in 1835.

The product of these mills, both cotton and wool manufactures, it is understood, exceeds annually over three millions of dollars. And while the firm buys all its raw material and attends exclusively to every department of the productive power, they have their own warehouse in New York, where they dispose of all these various manufactures. There is one chief head, Horatio N. Slater, Esq., who directs all and keeps a close and careful supervision of every department of this complicated but nicely diversified system of business. By passing through the various parts of this establishment, any person accustomed to seeing and managing business methodically will readily discover that great exactness prevails in all its parts, and so wonderfully adjusted, that the numerous parts shall combine, with that perfection which shall produce complete results in the most economical manner.

The design is to produce goods of the best and most perfect quality of the description intended to be made, and in that respect they have so well succeeded, that their manufactures have a known reputation as such in every market of the country, enabling them to dispose of their product with great facility and at remunerating values.

From the commencement of the cotton manufacture by the founder of this branch of domestic industry, the policy has been nothing for show, but all for utility ; thus you witness no vast piles of brick and mortar and elegant displays of architecture, but plain works suitably adapted to produce the best results in the business there to be conducted. Such has heretofore been and is now the character of this immense establishment.

There are three grand compartments in this business—as conducted—known as the east, the south, and the north villages.

The east is the place of residence formerly of Mr. Samuel Slater, and now of Horatio N. Slater, Esq. It was here that

Mr. Slater, through Mr. Bela Tiffany, as before stated, began his first operations, which, during the past sixty years, have increased to their present magnitude, and since radiated and produced the other villages, as before described.

As before remarked, when Mr. Slater made here his first purchases, it was but the outskirts of three towns—Oxford, Dudley, and Thompson; and, as Mr. Tiffany wrote in his letter to Mr. Slater, when he made his first visit for examination, with a view to establish the cotton business here, “The principal objection is, in my opinion, that it is the most benighted part of the globe.”

All that was then to be seen (in 1811) was a few small farms, which were but poorly managed, and a grist-mill, saw-mill, and blacksmith shop, as the extent of the improvements of this water-power, and that only to a very moderate extent.

As then seen, all the territory in the vicinity evinced a poor quality of soil, and very rocky, giving a barren and unproductive appearance. In most instances the original growth of the forests had been cut off, leaving a scattered and unsightly undergrowth, all betokening unthriftiness and general lack of enterprise. But to the present beholder a wonderful change has come over all the former dilapidated state of this region. Much of the change respecting the general face of the lands has taken place within the last ten or fifteen years. Now, instead of the unsightly and repelling aspect formerly exhibited, everything connected with the farm lands of this firm, and that includes all the territory surrounding the three villages and the intermediate vicinity, constituting several thousand acres of ground, all is found in a high state of cultivation, exhibiting good taste in all the arrangements. Instead of the small lots into which this vicinity had been divided by unsightly walls, piled promiscuously to dispose of the superabundance of stone that covered these grounds, may be

seen vast lawns, or meadows, where grass is grown for supplying hay for an extensive herd of cattle of superior breed.

In the rear of Mr. Slater's residence, which he styles his back-door yard, is one hundred acres or more of highly-cultivated ground, coming up to the rear of his house, with the back-door opening immediately upon the same. This is beautifully diversified by undulations, presenting to the eye, as far as it can reach, in a west and north-westerly direction, gentle slopes and valleys of the most charming and delightful character. This is one vast mowing-field, with here and there a barn to be seen in the distance, located on the sides of the hills, where the loads of hay driven upon the high part of the surrounding grounds can be easily transferred to the spacious compartments of the barn below, to be removed in the seasons when required to the stock barns in another part, distinct from these depositories in the fields. The object of the separate location of these hay depositories, is not only for convenience in rapidly storing hay, in the haymaking season, but to guard against loss by fire.

There is not only good taste and an adaptation for economical management, but a completeness of arrangement for conducting the business of this large tract of land, and providing for this large herd of cattle, which consists of about 100 of the breed known as the short-horn Durham; of which about eighty are cows, with several yoke of fine oxen, and four or five excellent specimens of bulls.

All, it was noticed, were in fine flesh, large and well-proportioned, indicating the best attention for their welfare.

The large and commodious buildings used for stabling these animals and preparing their feed is a place worthy of the attention of all stock farmers. Here also may be witnessed both convenience of arrangement and economy, in the preparation and distribution of feed to the different classes of this large herd, where all is done in the best manner and without waste

of material used. The mode for feeding is what is styled cut feed, hay being cut fine, and then mixed with corn-meal, boiled and made into mush in large kettles set for that purpose, where, between the quantity of cut hay on one side and the mush-kettles on the other, an oblong box is run upon an iron railway track a few feet below, to admit of an easy and convenient deposit of this prepared feed therein, which box is then run over the railway to the stalls of the herd, and fed to the right and left, with much dispatch, into cribs before each separate animal.

This large herd of cows is a wise provision for the supply of the best of milk to the numerous operatives that labor in the mills of the three villages, and the laborers connected with the farm and dairy establishment.

Another provision for the numerous dependents, who look to this firm for sustenance, is their large variety stores, where all descriptions of merchandise are provided that is required, either for clothing, food, or convenience, of good quality, and at fair prices ; these supplies are kept in each of the villages, although the chief depot is at the south village, from which the east and north villages receive their share.

There seems nothing wanting in all the detail of arrangements by this firm for forming a completeness, whether in their system of manufacture, their farming, or the conveniences that accommodate all engaged in their behalf.

Mr. Horatio N. Slater labored many years and expended much capital for bringing railroad accommodation to his mills, which undertaking was accomplished in 1866 by a branch of the Boston, Hartford, and Erie road, which continues from this place across the rising ground, westerly, to the valley of the Quinebaug, and thence along the margin of that river to its termination at Southbridge.

The Norwich and Worcester railroad passes a short distance west of the Slaters' villages, passing through a part of the

north and south villages before named ; but the depot of that road, near the margin of the French river, about half a mile from the south village, and located on land away from the Slater territory, has caused the principal village of the town to grow up in that vicinity.

This has been produced, as has been understood, partly from the aversion of this firm to part with any of their lands, with the view of keeping their large operations under their control, and free from intrusion from the ordinary town business affairs.

As now located, their three villages are isolated from the town village, where there is a remarkable quietness, considering the vast and diversified business here conducted.

In the midst of this large establishment no disturbing element appears, and the whole in the perfection of its management may be likened to one large and well-conducted family, where the head is not only respected but regarded with attachment and pride, as the patriarch and father.

For whatever is needed this head is the resort ; the religious societies receive largely their support from this source, as also the schools and many charitable objects.

ECCLESIASTICAL.

CHAPTER II.

BAPTIST CHURCH.

THIS church and society had its origin in the Baptist Church of Dudley. Its organization as a regular religious body took place in a school-house in the eastern part of Dudley, October 26, 1814.

There having been a desire among a number of persons in this vicinity, who were members of other churches, to form a church at this place, an ecclesiastical council met at the request of the church in Thompson, and the church in Sutton, on Wednesday, the day above given; and having heard the facts as given by the parties interested, decided to recognize them as a church, in union with this denomination.

The following churches were fully represented in the council held on this occasion, as follows: Rev. P. Crosby, of Thompson; Rev. William Bentley, of Worcester; Rev. James Boomer, of Charlton; Rev. Zenas L. Leonard, of Sturbridge; Rev. James Grow, of Pomfret; and Rev. Luther Goddard. Brethren Jeremy F. Tolman and John Walker were invited to seats in the council.

Rev. Mr. Bentley was chosen moderator, and Rev. Z. L. Leonard, scribe. The sermon was preached by Rev. James Grow, from Ephesians, iv, 16, and the hand of fellowship was

given by Mr. Bentley. The following is a list of the members at this time, as presented to this council :

Smith Arnold, John Baker, Stephen Bartlet, Junior, Stephen Bracket, Thomas Brown, Esek Brown, Nathan Cody, Nathaniel Crosby, David Freeman, Michael Hill, Liberty Ide, William Learned, John Learned, Eliakim Robinson, John Stockwell, John Stone, Gardner Stone, Tubal Wakefield, Aaron Wakefield, Joel Wakefield, Simeon Wakefield, Luther Whitman, William W. Webster, Nathan Wood, Luther Wood, Lucy Arnold, Lucina Bartlet, Catherine Bartlet, Fanny Bracket, Phebe Brown, Jerusha Bracket, Sally M. Crosby, Dolly Freeman, Tamar Freeman, Araminda Freeman, Rosella Greenwood, Mary B. Hill, Abigail Humphrey, Lavina Ide, Abigail Learned, Sibyl Moore, Anna Robinson, Ruth Stone, Sarah Wakefield, Betsey Wakefield, Mehitable Wakefield, Mary Whitmore, Lucinda Wood, Charlotte Wood, Eunice Wood, Adamira Wood, and Betsey Wright. In all twenty-seven males and twenty-eight females.

The school-house in which this organization occurred had been then but recently built, and it stood where Mr. Jonathan Eddy's dwelling-house now stands. It was erected with a view to accommodate the holding of religious meetings, as there was no meeting-house in this vicinity ; but there had recently been erected the first cotton and woolen factories in this neighborhood, which gave an impulse to business generally in this locality, and was the beginning of that progress which had made this town one of the first, in point of population, manufacturing, and mechanical industry in Worcester south district.

For a time this school-house was jointly occupied by three denominations—Baptists, Methodists, and Universalists.

On November 8, 1814, this church elected Mr. Stephen Bartlet and Mr. Nathaniel Crosby, deacons ; but they did not accept the office until the 16th of July, 1815. In the

year following, Mr. Crosby removed to Pomfret, New York, and was dismissed to the Baptist church there. Mr. Esek Brown, who had been a deacon of the church of Sutton, removed to this place, and on the 15th of June, 1815, about eight months after the organization, was invited to serve as their pastor.

The ordination was as follows: The school-house in which they then worshipped was deemed insufficient for the people expected to be present, and a spacious tent was built by Mr. Augustus Eddy for the occasion.

At this time Rev. Samuel Waters was elected moderator of the council, and Rev. Zenas L. Leonard as scribe. The following were the ceremonies: Sermon by Rev. Z. L. Leonard, of Sturbridge; ordaining prayer by Rev. James Grow, of Pomfret; charge by Rev. Samuel Waters, of Sutton; right-hand of fellowship by Rev. William Bentley, of Worcester; concluding prayer by Rev. Isaac Dwinell, of Ward. The sermon on this occasion was referred to in the *Baptist Magazine* at that time, as able, appropriate, and animating.

Rev. Mr. Brown's ministry here continued about three years and three months; he left in September, 1818, to become pastor of the Baptist church in Lebanon, Connecticut, where it is believed he remained until his decease.

During Rev. Mr. Brown's pastorate, six united with the church by baptism, and seven by letter, and two died; leaving the membership, at this time, 61. This church now remained destitute of a pastor seven years and four months.

The first pastor left for the reason that his services were not sufficiently paid to give a proper support to himself and family.

The first supply of this pulpit after Mr. Brown was by Rev. Louis T. Seaman, of Thompson, who labored here about two years with much acceptance and success; he at this time had not received ordination. In the first year of his service seven were baptized, and the following year twenty-six.

In connection with him, Elders Nichols and Ross supplied the desk. Rev. Mr. Seaman left this church enjoying great prosperity.

He was succeeded by Mr. Robert Wilson, who had recently left the Methodist church to unite with this ; but he exhibited but little of the ability and spirit of the man who preceded him. He supplied here but a few months when he left in an unbecoming manner, and lost his Christian character by acts of immorality and indiscretion, much to the regret of the friends of religion. This church for a time was now without a supply. About four years after Mr. Seaman left, he returned again to this church, but found its prosperity departed. He died, and was buried at Thompson, Connecticut. During his absence he had been ordained and settled over the Baptist church in De Ruyter, New York.

The records of the church and society, from 1820 to 1825, are very imperfect. Rev. Luther Goddard, of Worcester, supplied here about the year 1821, a portion of the time, and occasional supplies were rendered by other ministers, whose names are not preserved on the records. In June, 1820, Willard Howland was elected deacon in place of Deacon Crosby, who had left the place.

In April, 1824, Deacon Stephen Bartlet died. He was an exemplary and pious man, and a severe loss to the society.

In 1825 a vigorous effort was made to raise funds for erecting a meeting-house for the better accommodation of the society, which was successful. The present house of worship was the result ; it was finished in the autumn of 1826, and dedicated on the 26th of December following. Rev. Jonathan Going, of Worcester, preached the sermon on the occasion, taking for the subject of the discourse the baptism of the eunuch by Philip, recorded in the eighth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles.

The church had now become anxious to settle a pastor. The

Rev. John B. Ballard, of Masonville, New York, was invited and accepted.

He entered upon his labors in December, 1825, about a year before they commenced worship in their meeting-house. He continued here about two years and three months, closing his ministry in the spring of 1828.

During the period of the Rev. Mr. Ballou's ministrations, he baptized eighteen persons who were received into this church. In the spring of 1827 he formed the first Sabbath-school in this vicinity.

The young people of the parish were much attached to him, and deeply regretted his leaving; but the older and more active part of the society thought a change would be for the best. He died in the city of New York, January 29, 1856. An obituary in the *Christian Secretary* gave the following:

“He was born in Dudley, October 25, 1799; experienced religion at seventeen years of age; entered Hamilton Theological Institute, New York, in 1820, with those eminent missionaries of the East, Wade and Kincaid; was ordained pastor of the church at Masonville, New York, November 13, 1823, and came to Dudley, as before stated, and was settled over this church in 1825.

“He was settled for a time at Bloomfield, Connecticut; for thirteen years was engaged as agent of the American Sunday school Union, and established Sunday schools in a large part of the towns in the States of Kentucky and North Carolina.

“After this he spent a few years at Colchester, Connecticut, with his family, and occasionally supplied destitute churches while recruiting his health; and finally engaged in the service of the Tract Society as missionary in the city of New York, where he died as above stated.”

Mr. Emmons, of Brown university, now took the place of Mr. Ballard as supply for a few weeks; he was followed by Rev. Joshua Eveleth, who began his pastorate in the summer of 1828.

His health soon failed, and he resigned his office after only a few months' service.

His labors were highly acceptable to this society during his

short ministry. There were received by him six members into the church by baptism. He removed from here to Worcester, where he died in the winter of 1829.

Rev. Isaac Merriam supplied the pulpit during the winter following Rev. Mr. Eveleth.

After Mr. Merriam there were transient supplies until the settlement, as pastor, of the Rev. Hubbel Loomis, in August, 1829. Mr. Loomis had been a Congregational minister twenty-four years over a church in Willington, Connecticut. Having changed his religious sentiments to that of the Baptists, he became the minister of a Baptist church in that town, then recently formed, and continued in its service until he was called to this church.

He remained with this society not quite a year, but during that period received into the church, by baptism, twenty-seven members.

Mr. Loomis has the credit of being instrumental in establishing the first temperance society in this place.

He removed from here to the Western States. In 1832 he founded the Alton Theological seminary, and continued his efforts in its behalf until it was changed to the name of Shurtleff college, in January, 1836. Soon after, his health failing, he retired to private life, and resided in Upper Alton, Illinois.

Mr. Loomis was succeeded here by Rev. Thomas Barrett, who began supplying this pulpit the third Sabbath in April, 1830, and on the 3d of July following received an invitation to become its pastor.

He was ordained, August 25, 1830, while the Sturbridge Association was in session in this place; Rev. Addison Parker, of Southbridge, gave the right hand of fellowship, and Rev. Jonathan Going delivered the address to the church and people.

The Sturbridge Association met here again in August, 1831, at which time there was in progress a revival of religion, and

the association of ministers present, feeling an interest in this religious excitement, joined zealously with this society in its encouragement, for two days, with an interesting result. The church became more active in its duties. During the ministry of Rev. Mr. Barrett, which continued about two years and five months, he received into the church sixty-three members by baptism. He was an eminently pious and effective preacher. His memory remained fragrant in the minds of the older members of this church many years.

Through a season of despondency his mind became much disordered, which led him to take his own life, August 7, 1832. His funeral sermon was preached by Rev. Addison Parker.

He was a native of Belchertown, in this State, and came to this town, first, in the capacity of agent of the Massachusetts Baptist State convention. He had previously been pastor in Grafton Centre, Sharon, and Agawam, and died in the fortieth year of his age.

At the close of Rev. Mr. Barrett's ministry this church had 141 members.

The Rev. Abial Fisher was his successor ; he received a call from this church the 2d of December, 1832.

This part of Dudley, together with a part of Oxford, having been incorporated a separate town, in the year 1832, this church now took the name of the Baptist church in Webster, that being the corporate name of the town.

Rev. Mr. Fisher, having accepted the call to the ministry, was installed on the 12th of the same month, with the following services :

Reading of Scripture and introductory prayer by Rev. John Paine, of Ward ; sermon by Rev. Jonathan Aldrich, of Beverly ; installation prayer by Rev. James Grow, of Thompson, Connecticut ; charge to the church and people by Rev. J. G. Binney, of West Boylston ; right hand of fellowship by

Rev. J. Aldrich; concluding prayer by Rev. Moses Harrington, of Sutton.

Mr. Fisher's pastorate was short, only about one and a half years. Through his influence, it is said, the remaining debt upon their meeting-house was fully paid, besides paying \$200 in aid of the Worcester county high school, at Worcester.

Rev. Abial Fisher, D. D., was born in Putney, Vermont, June 19, 1787. He was baptized in Danville, Vermont, December 5, 1806. In 1811 he was admitted into the senior class of Burlington university, and graduated the following year. He studied theology under Rev. Nathaniel Kendrick, of Middlebury, Vermont, and received a license to preach, June 18, 1813. In January, 1816, he was ordained as the pastor of the Baptist church in Bellingham, Massachusetts, where he served twelve years. In September, 1828, he removed to West Boylston, and served the church there about three years. Afterwards preached for the church in Sturbridge, and this town, as above stated, then at Pawtucket, Rhode Island, Swansea, Massachusetts, and Sutton.

His health failing, his advanced age induced him to retire from the ministry, the remainder of his days were spent at West Boylston. He died, March 26, 1862, aged 74 years, 9 months, and 7 days.

Rev. James Grow, of Thompson, Connecticut, followed Mr. Fisher in the ministry here, and labored from 1st of April, 1834, one year, then returned to Thompson, and continued his ministry several years, and died there, March 17, 1859, at the age of 90 years.

The pulpit was now supplied several months by William R. Collier, a licentiate from Boston; a supply was now continued mostly by young men from Newton Theological Institute, and by occasional ministrations from Rev. Myron M. Dean.

At the close of the year 1835 this church numbered 110 members.

The church gave a call on the 7th of August, 1836, to Mr. Loomis G. Leonard, a member of the Baptist church, Willington, Connecticut, and recent graduate of Newton Theological Institute, to become their pastor. He accepted, and was ordained, September 7, following, with the usual services.

Reading of Scripture by Rev. John Paine, of Ward ; introductory prayer by Rev. John Green, of Leicester ; sermon by Rev. J. G. Binney, of Southbridge ; ordaining prayer by Rev. James Grow, of Thompson, Connecticut ; charge to the candidate by Rev. Jonathan Aldrich, of Worcester ; right hand of fellowship by Rev. Isaac Merriam, of Sturbridge ; address to the church and people, by Rev. Bela Hicks, of Thompson, Connecticut ; concluding prayer by Rev. John Walker, of Sutton.

This church and society flourished under the pastorate of this young minister, and increased in members, both in the church and parish ; but experienced a severe draft upon its numbers by the organization of the Congregational church and society, which occurred, June 13, 1838. Up to this time most of this denomination worshipped with the Baptist society.

Those persons who withdrew had joined in the Sabbath school and other associations of this society, and the relations had been mutually pleasant, which caused the separation to be sensibly felt. But in a few years this loss was restored by others who united, of the same denomination.

In 1841 the society reconstructed the interior of the meeting-house, but a portion of the expense was borne by the liberality of the manufacturing companies in this town. Mr. George B. Slater took much interest in the improvement of this house, and acted as one of the committee on reconstruction.

On the 3d of March, 1843, Rev. Mr. Leonard asked for a dismissal, much to the regret of the church and society.

The church unanimously requested a withdrawal of this

request, but being insisted upon, it was granted much against their desire. He at once became the pastor of the Baptist church in Thompson, Connecticut; and was subsequently settled over the second Baptist church, New London, Connecticut. Several years afterwards he removed to Ohio, and was pastor of the churches at Zanesville, Marietta, and Lebanon, in that State, with much success.

During his ministry here of six years and seven months, eighty-four persons were added to this church by baptism and fifty-seven by letter, leaving the whole membership at the close of his pastorate one hundred and seventy.

The Rev. John Felch Burbank, who graduated at Newton Theological Institute in 1840, and who had been pastor of the Baptist church, Taunton, Massachusetts, was now invited to accept the charge of this church, and signified his assent, April 6, 1843; he continued in the ministry here three years and five months, ending September 1, 1846, when he resigned and removed to Worcester. At the close of this pastorate the membership of the church had declined to one hundred and fifteen.

In August, 1843, soon after Mr. Burbank began his ministry, this church transferred its relations from the Sturbridge to the Worcester association.

Mr. Burbank, after leaving Webster, never again took upon himself the pastoral office, but until the close of his life supplied occasionally vacant pulpits in the vicinity of Worcester.

He died suddenly in that city on the 22d of November, 1853, aged forty-two years.

Rev. Lyman Jewett was Mr. Leonard's successor. He received his license from the Federal-Street church, Boston, and was a graduate of Newton Theological Institute. He began his service here on the first Sabbath in November, 1847, and on the 1st day of the following March was unanimously invited by the church to serve one year. He accepted, and continued

his ministry until July, 1848. His labors were successful, although he had never been ordained. While he labored here thirteen persons were added by baptism, and twenty-six by letter. Total membership in the church at the close of his ministry, 139.

He had previous to his coming here engaged with the Baptist Missionary Union to serve as a missionary, and now fulfilled that contract by embarking for India to serve as a missionary among the Teloogoos, with whom he labored thirteen years, when he returned with his family to his native land, and has since been employed in sustaining the missionary cause in this country.

The church begun at once to secure a successor, but failed until the 25th of March, 1849, when Rev. Joseph Thayer, of South Sutton was invited and accepted in April following.

Mr. Thayer was engaged to supply the pulpit for one year.

At the close of this service, his health failing, he declined to continue his ministry, much to the regret of the church and society, as his efforts had added to the congregation increased numbers, and given entire satisfaction as a faithful minister.

Subsequently Mr. Thayer regained his health and united with the Free Will Baptists, and for some years supplied the pulpit of the church of that faith in Mendon, Massachusetts.

He then removed to Minnesota, where he was preaching when last heard from.

The number of members at the close of his ministry was 122.

On Sunday, April 7, 1850, the church gave a unanimous call to Rev. Frederic Charlton, of Plainfield, Connecticut. He accepted on the 11th of April following.

Mr. Charlton labored with this people for three years with general acceptance, and was dismissed at his request the last Sabbath in March, 1853.

He removed to Wilmington, Delaware, and served success-

fully with the second Baptist church there; many were added to the church and society, and during his ministry they were enabled to erect a new house of worship. After this, he engaged for a time in the service of the American Baptist Publication Society, and then removed to California, where, when last heard from, he was pastor of the Baptist church in Sacramento City.

The membership of the church for a time continued to decline; at the close of this last pastorate it was reduced to 102.

This church now invited the Rev. George W. Dorrance, of Sturbridge, to supply the pulpit on the first Sabbath in April following, with a view to a settlement. After preaching three Sabbaths he received a call to become their pastor, and gave his acceptance on the 24th of same month.

He labored here faithfully two years, and was dismissed at his request.

During his ministry there was a continued decrease in the members of the church; two were added by baptism, and sixteen by letter, but the removals and deaths reduced the membership to ninety.

Mr. Dorrance had served several years as chaplain in the United States navy. On the 19th of November, 1853, Deacon Willard Howland died, aged seventy-five years. He had been an esteemed member of the church thirty-three years, and in the early part of this time held the office of deacon eleven years.

This church was now supplied with transient preaching for about a year, when Mr. J. L. A. Fish, of Newton Theological Institute, received a call, March 30, 1856, which he accepted, and began at once to supply the pulpit. He was ordained, July 2 following, with the order of service as here given: Reading of the Scriptures, by Rev. S. C. Kendall, of the Congregational church of Webster; prayer, by Rev. M. Mathewson, of Thompson, Connecticut; sermon, by Rev. J. G. Warren, of

Boston; ordaining prayer, by Rev. J. B. Boomer, of Worcester; charge, by Rev. S. S. Parker, of Southbridge; right hand of fellowship, by Rev. D. F. Faunce, of Worcester; address to the church and society, by Rev. Charles Willett, of Putnam, Connecticut; closing prayer, by Rev. J. E. Wood, of the Methodist church, Webster.

On the 6th of December, 1856, Mr. Prince Bracket, having returned to Webster after an absence of several years at Sturbridge, was again elected deacon. And on the 5th of April, 1860, Deacon Solomon Robinson, having served the church as its treasurer, and for thirty years as clerk, resigned both of these offices. He, however, consented to continue in the position of treasurer; while the office of clerk was filled by Mr. Richard E. Noah.

Mr. Fish resigned the pastorate here the last Sabbath in June, 1863, much to the regret of this church. His labors continued through a period of seven years and three months; during this time there were added to the church, by baptism, 38; by letter, 30; and, aside from all losses, the number of members had increased to 127.

In the autumn of 1863 Mr. Fish was called to the charge of the Baptist church in East Tisbury.

This church now gave a call to Rev. Charles W. Reding; he entered upon his service here on the 1st of October, 1863, and still continued his labors with success when last heard from.

This writer is indebted for the greater part of the foregoing sketch of the history of this church and society, to an historical discourse delivered by the pastor, Rev. Charles W. Reding, October 30, 1864, it being the fiftieth anniversary of its organization.

For many years this was the only church organization in this vicinity, and what is now the town of Webster.

The order of services on this occasion were as follows:

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1864.

First, an opening prayer and a brief address of welcome to the brethren and sisters from abroad, by the pastor. This was followed by remarks from the Rev. Tubal Wakefield, one of the only two persons living who belonged to the original organization, and remarks by several of the older brethren, who related facts and incidents connected with different periods of the church. To the senior officer, Deacon Robinson, they were greatly indebted for much interest given to these services. These parties spoke from full hearts of the merciful dealings of God with this people during the past half century. Special mention was made of the frequent and powerful revivals in this society. All seemed to feel that it was pleasant and profitable to recall to mind these past favors of Divine grace.

The services were continued through Saturday evening preparatory for the exercises on the Sabbath following. At this meeting were read letters from the following brethren, once pastors of this church: Rev. L. G. Leonard, D. D., Lebanon, Ohio; Rev. Lyman Jewett, Grand Rapids, Michigan; Rev. J. L. A. Fish, Holmes' Hole, Massachusetts; also, from Rev. N. B. Cook, Greenville, who was once a member, and from Rev. Hervey Fitts, who has always manifested a deep interest in this church and society.

SABBATH EVENING, OCTOBER 30, 1864.

Rev. Tubal Wakefield led in the devotional services; after which, the historical discourse was preached by the pastor, Rev. Mr. Reding, to a crowded congregation. The delivery occupied one hour and a quarter, and was heard by the audience with great satisfaction to its close.

The hymns on this occasion were those sung at the ordination of the first pastor, viz., 720 and 1146 of the Psalmist, and hymn 92, book 1, of Watts', in the tunes of the former period—the style of singing fifty years ago—making the whole service of great interest to all present, and long to be remembered.

METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, WEBSTER.

This religious denomination was first established here in the year 1823, in September, when the Rev. Elias Marble was their first preacher ; he continued his labors with this people two years. His successors have been as follows :

Rev. John W. Hardy,	for 1825.
“ John W. Chase,	“ 1826.
“ Heman Perry,	“ 1827.
“ George Southerland,	“ 1828.
“ Isaac Bonny,	“ 1829.
“ John Lovejoy,	“ 1830.
“ O. Robbins,	“ 1831.
“ Peter Sabin,	“ 1832.
“ Isaac Jenison,	“ 1833.
“ Ira M. Bidwell,	“ 1834.
“ Jonathan Cady,	“ 1835.
“ Isaac Stoddard,	“ 1836-’37.
“ Joseph A. Merrill,	“ 1838-’39.
“ Isaac Sanbourn,	“ 1840.
“ Abraham D. Merrill,	“ 1841-’42.
“ Leonard B. Griffin,	“ 1843-’44.
“ Mark Staple,	“ 1845-’46.
“ Charles S. McRedding,	“ 1847-’48.
“ Joseph W. Lewis,	“ 1849-’50.
“ D. E. Chapin,	“ 1851-’52.
“ Union Ward,	“ 1853-’54.
“ Samuel Tupper,	“ 1855-’56.
“ Jeremiah S. Haniford,	“ 1857-’58.
“ Abraham S. Dobbs,	“ 1859.
“ Pliney Wood,	“ 1859.
“ Joseph C. Cormack,	“ 1862.
“ Cyrus L. Eastman,	“ 1863-’64.
“ James W. Murray,	“ 1865.
“ Edward S. Best,	“ 1866-’67.
“ Abraham O. Hamilton,	“ 1868-’70.

Their first meeting-house was erected in 1828, and dedicated in June, 1829. Their second, built in 1833, and dedicated, January 14, 1834; and their third house was erected in 1866, and dedicated, September 12, 1867.

This church, it is believed, has been prosperous, and has secured, as parishioners, its full share of the population of this town ; but the particulars as to church members and general success have not been received.

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH, WEBSTER.

The first service of this church and society was held in the evening, in the town-hall, at East Webster, July 18, 1869 ; it being the eighth Sunday after Trinity.

Service by the Rev. William Henry Brooks, D. D., rector of Grace church, Oxford.

Rev. Dr. Brooks continued to officiate in Webster, one service on each Sabbath, until the 1st of October following.

Under an invitation given him, September 27, 1869, he devoted his whole time to the ministry of this church from October 1st to April 1, 1870, and held two services on each Sabbath.

This church, not having any meeting-house of their own, held their services in such places, up to January 3, 1871, as could be conveniently obtained. These services have been held as follows: Their second service was held in Webster hall, depot village, in the evening of July 25, 1869 ; third service in the Methodist church, depot village, August 15, 1869 ; and on the 22d and 29th, same month, service was held in the Congregational church, depot village. From that time to Saturday, January 22, 1870, services were held in the town-hall, until that building was destroyed by fire.

A parish was formed here, January 3, 1870, with the name of the " Church of the Reconciliation."

January 23, 1870, service was held in the Webster hall, and on the 30th service was held in the Good Templar's hall, depot village, and continued to be held there until April 10, 1870, the Sunday before Easter, when service was held in the Congregational chapel, depot village, and was continued

there until the church edifice of the society was occupied for public worship.

CHURCH EDIFICE.

Monday, July 18, 1870, it being the first anniversary of the first service in the parish, the corner-stone of the Church of the Reconciliation, Webster, was laid, in the absence of the bishop of the diocese, by the rector, Rev. William Henry Brooks, D.D. The form of prayer used on that occasion was the one set forth for use in the diocese by the present bishop, copies of which, in very neat pamphlet form, were distributed among the audience. The book had on the third page a list of the officers of the parish.

A procession composed of the Sunday school, parishioners, citizens, visitors, choirs of the parish, and clergy, marched from the house of Samuel Slater, Esq., the junior warden, to the place where the church was to be erected; in the procession were borne the national flag, and a beautiful banner of white, on the front of which were suitable devices, and in gold letters the name, "Reconciliation;" and on the reverse was the date, in blue, shaded with vermilion, "July 18, A. D., 1869." Above the canvas fly, which was spread over the corner-stone to protect the clergy, choirs, and many others from the burning sun, was the name of the parish, and the date of its first service in ivy-leaf letters, with white roses in Gothic style, mounted on a white ground.

The 122d Psalm, "Lactatus Sum," was repeated alternately, the rector one verse, and the clergy and people another. The exhortation, collects, and Lord's prayer were said by the venerable Rev. E. M. T. Wells, D. D., of St. Stephen's house, Boston.

A lesson, Ezra iii, 1-11, strikingly applicable, was read by Rev. Wm. R. Huntington, of All Saints, Worcester.

The following deposits put in a lead box were inserted in

the granite corner-stone; the list of articles being publicly read by the rector,

“Holy Bible; Book of Common Prayer; Churchman’s Year Book for 1870; Journal of the 79th Convention of the Diocese of Massachusetts; Manuscript Historical Sketch of the Parish prepared by the Rector; Office used at the Laying of the Corner-Stone; List of the Officers of the Parish; Blank Form of the Music in the Service of the Parish; *Christian Witness and Church Advocate*, for April 14, May 17, and May 26, 1870; *Churchman*, April 2, 1870; *Church Journal*, June 8, 1870; *Webster Times*, June 18, 1870; Report of Town Officers of Webster, for 1869-’70; Report of School Committee of Webster, for 1869-’70; *Worcester Daily Spy*, July 16, 1870; *Boston Morning Journal*, July 16, 1870; Specimens of Fractional Currency.”

The corner-stone having been lowered (by the contractor and builder, Mr. Benjamin Watkins, of Webster), into its proper place, the rector, striking the stone three times with a mason’s hammer (a blow at the pronouncing of the name of each person in the Holy and Undivided Trinity), said :

“In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen. I lay the corner-stone of an edifice to be here reared by the name of ‘The Church of the Reconciliation,’ and to be devoted to the service of Almighty God, agreeably to the principles of the Protestant Episcopal church, in the United States of America, in the doctrines, ministry, liturgy, rights, and usages.”

The prayer,

“Blessed be Thy name, O Lord, that it hath pleased Thee to put into the hearts of Thy servants to commence the erection of a building in which Thy Holy Name is to be worshipped, and the message of reconciliation is to be proclaimed, and the means of grace are to be administered,” etc., was said by the Rev. Thomas L. Randolph, of St. John’s, Wilkinsonville.

The address, which was able and appropriate, was delivered by the Rev. Wm. N. Ackley, rector elect of Trinity, of Newtown, Connecticut.

The 470th hymn,

“O Lord of hosts, whose glory fills,” etc.,

was announced by the Rev. Samuel N. Spear, in charge of the new church enterprise in Fiskedale, and was sung to the tune of "Eisenach."

The services were concluded by the Rev. James W. Clark, of St. Philip's, Putnam, Connecticut, who read the appointed collects, and pronounced the blessing of peace.

Then followed the most impressive episode in the events of the day. The alms-basins having been placed on the cornerstone by the rector, the parishioners came forward and deposited in them their free-will offerings, in sealed envelopes, to the church building fund, ranging from ten cents upwards, making in the aggregate the noble sum of *four thousand six hundred and nineteen dollars and ten cents*.

The singing by the choirs of the declaration of David, "All things come of thee, O Lord, and of thine own have we given thee," after the gifts offered so willingly had been received, was as beautiful in melody as the words are instructive in their teaching.

So impressive were the services, that although the heat was intense, the interest of the large assembly continued unabated to the last.

The choirs, in addition to what has been described, sung very finely, "Jerusalem, the Golden," to the tune of "S. Salvatori;" the anthem, "Laudate Nomen;" and the Alleluiatic sequence, "The Strain Upraise of Joy and Praise."

After the conclusion of the ceremonies, the reverend clergy, invited guests, and parishioners, by invitation, proceeded to the mansion of James H. Howe, Esq., senior warden, where they were hospitably entertained with an elegant-collation.

The lot on which the church was erected was purchased for the parish, and generously presented to it by William S. Slater, Esq.

The building committee consisted of the rector, the senior

warden, and the donor of the lot; the architects being Messrs. R. & R. Upjohn.

The church is constructed of wood, in the Gothic style, with triplet windows in the chancel and over the entrance porch; and in the transepts to have sittings for 300 persons, with provisions for easy enlargement, when desired. The height of the spire is fifty-two feet.

The interior is to be finished with chestnut; its extreme length is seventy-seven feet; and width, forty-four feet six inches.

By contract, this church edifice was to be finished, ready for occupancy, November 1, 1870. It was dedicated, January 3, 1871. The ceremonies were under the charge of the Right Rev. Bishop Martin Eastburn.

The Rev. William Henry Brooks was called by the churchwardens and vestrymen to the rectorship, March 19, 1870, and gave his acceptance on the 26th following. Rev. Dr. Brooks was a graduate of the Theological seminary of the Protestant Episcopal church of Virginia, July 15, 1852; was ordained deacon, by Right Rev. William Meade, D.D., in Christ church, Alexandria, Virginia, July 16, 1852, and ordained priest by the Right Rev. Alfred Lee, D.D., in St. Thomas' church, Newark, Delaware, January 13, 1855. He came from the Episcopal church of Oxford to take charge of this church.

CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH.

This church and society was organized, June 13, 1838. Previous to this time the members of this congregation worshiped with the Baptists.

The withdrawing and forming this separate body, was a serious draft upon both the society and church of that denomination; also upon their Sabbath school, which required several years to replace.

But both societies now are well sustained, and exhibit evidence, in all respects, of prosperity.

REMARKS.

Of the inhabitants within the territory now Webster, before the appearance of Mr. Slater in this field of his successful enterprise, the most influential in the west part, bordering on, and in the vicinity of the French river, were a numerous family by the name of Wakefield, descendants of Joseph Wakefield, one of the early settlers of the town of Dudley. His son, Solomon, was a Baptist preacher, and one of the pioneers of that denomination, particularly in this eastern part, now a part of Webster. And later, at the organization of the Baptist church here in 1814, it will be noticed that several of his descendants were prominent members. They controlled the principal part of the water-power upon said river. Solomon Wakefield, had deceased, at the time of Mr. Howard's first purchase here (in behalf of Samuel Slater) of his descendants—William, David, and Joel Wakefield, and Gibbs Dodge, who were the principal parties interested in this water-power at this time.

But above them on this river, had been incorporated in the year 1812, (the same year that Mr. Slater began his operations in the east part), a manufacturing company before referred to, styled "The Village Cotton, Wool, and Linen Manufacturing Company," which name was changed in the year 1814, to the style of "The Village Factory Company," as related in the historical sketch of Dudley. Besides the foregoing, Luther and Stephen Bartlet, were men of prominence in this vicinity; while at the east village the most enterprising men were Elijah Pratt, Asa and Samuel Robinson, John and Alanson Bates, and several by the name of Kingsbury, all being men of considerable character and standing, maintaining good moral, social, and religious society. But, after the year 1812, the Village Factory Company introduced a considerable increase of population along the French river, by the influence of Dr.

Benedict, Dana A. and William Braman, and Jason Waters, although in 1824, at the time of their sale to Slater and Howard, their business in manufacturing had proved unsuccessful, which led to the transfer of the estate to the parties as before related.

WOODSTOCK ACADEMY—ADDITIONAL HISTORY.

The first academy in Windham county was organized at Plainfield, in the year 1770. This institution gave a stimulus to the people of Woodstock to found one among themselves, to be equal, if not superior in all its parts.

This spirit formed a crisis in the year 1800, when several prominent and noted men of the place determined to undertake the duty of procuring the necessary funds for the erection of a suitable building for the school. Among these persons most conspicuous were Rev. Eliphalet Lyman, late the pastor of the Congregational church here, for forty-five years; Colonel Samuel McClellan, who served as an officer in both the last French war and that of the Revolution; James and John McClellan, sons of the latter, and the late General David Holmes.

A subscription paper was drafted, when Rev. Mr. Lyman headed the list by a subscription of one hundred dollars, with the understanding that thirty-two others should contribute as much, or such an amount should be subscribed; the sum required being subscribed, a building committee was appointed, and, during the year 1801, what is now the old academy structure was erected. The original proprietors were Col. Samuel McClellan and his two sons, James and John; Eliphalet Lyman, William Bowen, Parker Comings, Nehemiah Child, Ebenezer Smith, William Potter, Hezekiah Bugbee, Benjamin Lyon, Ebenezer Skinner, and Amos Paine.

Rev. Mr. Lyman officiated in laying the corner-stone. The date of this service has not been seen, but the dedication

service was performed in the Congregational church, on the 4th of February, 1802.

Addresses were made by John McClellan, Esq., and by Rev. Eliphalet Lyman. The following is a part of the address by Mr. McClellan:

“The event of establishing a seminary of literature in this place, equal if not superior to any other which has hitherto been erected, must create sensations of pleasure to those who feel interested in the welfare of mankind; and as we have met on this occasion to dedicate the building appropriated for that purpose, it may be pleasing, and perhaps useful, to spend a few moments in contemplating the advantages of an early education.

“The education of children and youth is one of the highest and most important duties of mankind.”

In closing, he said:

“We wish to promote, as much as our means will afford, a useful education among the rising generation, and to bring all necessary education home to our doors. We are happy to meet and felicitate one another that our unanimity and exertions have produced so much, and that a school is now established.

“And while we dedicate the building, and publish to the world our design, we doubt not but that kind friends will fully co-operate with us in our good intentions.

“And we reflect with pleasure, that many may receive the benefit of an enlightened education here, and thereby become useful and respectable in their generation.”

Mr. Lyman remarked that

“Virtue and morality were indispensable to a good education; that children should be taught to live a respectable and useful life; and that it should be the ambition of all present to be called the patrons of science, general knowledge, virtue, and that which tends to the support of the most valuable interests of the community.”

Then, turning to the principal of the institution, he said:

“I do, therefore, on this occasion, in the name of the trustees, and with the approbation of the proprietors, commit to you, Mr. Williams, the key of the academy, and the office of preceptor.”

The exercises closed with prayer, by Mr. Lyman, the pastor.

The academy was open the 5th inst. following.

TEACHERS.

The names of persons who have been teachers in the old academy are as follows :

Thomas Williams, the first teacher, is now, 1873, living at Providence, Rhode Island, at the age of 94 ; was a graduate of Yale college in the year 1800, and is now the oldest living graduate of that institution. He was preceptor only three months.

At the termination of this session a charter was secured from the General Assembly of the State, by the efforts of John McClellan, Esq., as has been related in the historical sketch of Woodstock; this addition being there omitted for want of the facts since obtained.

Hezekiah Frost, the second teacher, began on May 4, 1802, and continued to May 4, 1803. He was a graduate of Yale in 1802, and received for the year a salary of \$400. He married Esther Clark, one of his scholars, and settled as a lawyer in Sawyer, Maine, where he died in 1827.

Jason Park, then a young man, was assistant teacher, but was afterwards known as Rev. Jason Park, the much-respected pastor of the Congregational church and society at South-bridge, for a period of sixteen years.

Rev. Aaron Dutton, of Gilford, also a graduate of Yale, was the third preceptor. His sons and grandsons have been distinguished men ; one is a prominent lawyer in Cincinnati ; another has been judge and governor of this State ; another a minister in Ashford ; and still another a great revivalist preacher. His wife was assistant teacher.

Seth Norton, of Framingham, a graduate of Yale of 1804,

was the fifth preceptor. He afterwards became professor of languages in Hamilton college, and died in 1818.

Phineas Lyman Tracy, a graduate of Yale, in 1806, was the preceptor, for the years 1806 and 1807; at this time Deacon Jedediah Morse, the grandfather of Professor S. F. B. Morse, wrote Rev. Benjamin Trumbull, with reference to the academy, saying: "The school has generally been under the instruction of a preceptor recommended by the president of Yale college, and has as yet received no grants, but the proprietors have discharged all obligations above receipts.

The next teacher of whom anything is known was Rhinaldo Burleigh, who taught from 1810 to 1813. He was born in Ashford, and at the age of five had one of his arms cut off in a cider-mill. He fitted for college and graduated in 1803. He was a good teacher, and the school flourished under his charge. The exhibitions of this period were exciting events, and numerous attended; the teachers and scholars forming in line marched to the church; after several declamations, and perhaps orations, plays were enacted by many students, male and female taking parts. George McClellan, afterwards the celebrated surgeon of Philadelphia, father of General George B. McClellan, maintained conspicuous parts at this time.

In 1810 the town voted to give their bonds, amounting to \$1,206.65, to the proprietors of the academy, the interest to be used for continuing the schools, and admitting any of the youth of the town to six weeks' tuition annually. These bonds, some five years afterwards, were canceled and returned to the town.

Elisha Gallup taught the summer term of 1813.

Nathaniel Allen, a graduate of Yale college, taught the next winter, and had only ten scholars. Mr. Allen, Dr. Marcy, and Ephraim Houghton, went the next year to Harvard Medical school, the only students from Connecticut.

The teachers, from the years 1814 to 1818, were Andrew

and Archibald Burgess. They were from Canterbury, graduates of Yale college; and were regarded as good teachers.

From 1820 to 1843 there are no records; and, according to reports, there was but little interest felt for this institution by the citizens of the town. A portion of that period the school was abandoned. In 1822 there were two schools. Elias Skinner taught a school for boys, and Miss Caroline Dutch for girls. After this, several parties were engaged, but the length of time or when, does not appear.

Among those who were here in that period, were Elihu Morse, Thomas Jefferson Forbes, of Maine; Nathaniel Mills, of Thompson; Theodore Weld, who had lived in Danielsonville; and Welcome Wilmoth, of Thompson, who remained here three years, and was regarded a good teacher. Evans Malbone Johnson, taught in 1834. He was at the time studying for the ministry, and afterwards became an Episcopal clergyman.

He established the Episcopal church at Brooklyn, Connecticut, and there married Grace Malbone. He removed to Brooklyn, New York, and became rector of St. John's Church, and died there, a man of wealth, a few years since. Johnson street, in that city, was named in his honor.

Abraham Hazen Robinson, of Yale college, was preceptor, from August, 1835 to July, 1836. He afterwards studied medicine at Dartmouth college. It is also stated that Rev. Erastus Dickinson taught here, in 1833, for a time; also, Miss Lucy Brigham, of Grafton, Massachusetts, taught about that time; and Edwin E. Bliss, now president of a college in Syria (who had seven brothers, all missionaries), was a teacher here.

In 1843 the academy building was renovated and put into complete order by Henry C. Bowen.

A new belfry was built, the old one becoming unsafe. The academy was re-opened in 1844, with John T. Averill, a graduate of Dartmouth, as teacher; that autumn he had 126

scholars. He remained four years, and was a good instructor. In the spring of 1844 the Hutchinson family gave a concert here, when the receipts were given for the benefit of the academy, and resulted in the purchase of a chemical apparatus. The elm-trees in front of the academy were set there this year by the teacher and scholars. Also, the first printed catalogue was issued in 1844; it contains a wood-cut of the academy, drawn by Miss Maria Lyman, a granddaughter of Rev. Eliphalet Lyman. Mr. Alden Southworth was preceptor in 1845, and sustained a good reputation as teacher. Elias B. Hillard taught here in the summer term in 1848; following him came James W. Patterson (a graduate of, and afterwards a professor in, Dartmouth college), who continued the next three years; Miss Edna Dean Proctor being his assistant. Mr. Patterson was an excellent teacher, and increased the number of scholars to one hundred. Besides holding many political offices in New Hampshire, his native State, he has represented that State in the house of representatives at Washington, and is now a senator from that State in Congress. Rev. Jonathan Curtis, and Rev. Louis Gano, were the next teachers. The Rev. J. R. Davenport followed in 1851, and proved a good teacher.

Then were teachers here, E. D. Rawson and his brother Henry; Rev. George N. Webber, professor of intellectual philosophy in Middlebury college; John M. Wolcott was preceptor in 1854-'55; Henry C. Parker, now a lawyer in Worcester, Massachusetts, succeeded; and then came Edward Conant, John Holmes, and J. M. Manning, a graduate of Brown university, who taught in 1860.

Then after three years' suspension came George N. Hopkins, another graduate of Brown university.

Next were John A. Corbin and Miss Rosa Palmer, who continued the institution for a period at their own expense, but were not very successful.

In 1868 a proposition was made to place the academy on an independent and permanent basis, and for that purpose to establish a fund, which, it is understood, has been fully accomplished, and now exceeds \$15,000.

The teachers since have been Messrs. Burnett, Cook, and Davison, who have advanced the school in numbers, discipline, and scholarship. To-day Woodstock academy is among the first, in all its appointments, in the State of Connecticut.

From the time of the first opening of this academy there have been 41 preceptors during a period of 21 years; 38 males and 3 females; and of the 38 males, 31 were college graduates: 14 from Yale college, 5 from Amherst, 4 from Brown, 3 from Dartmouth, 1 from Bowdoin, and 4 unknown.

Among the scholars of distinction who received instruction here, may be named, in part, Hon. William L. Marcy, governor of the State of New York, and secretary of the United States; Commodore Morris, of the United States navy, a native of this town; General William Eaton; lieutenant-governor Stoddard, of this State; Dr. George McClellan, of Philadelphia; Dr. Samuel McClellan, his brother; Hon. Aaron Skinner, mayor of New Haven, one of the most popular mayors of that city; Judge Young, David and the Hon. Prescott Hall, Rev. Willard Child, D. D., Rev. Alvin Bond, D. D., and Louise Chandler Moulton and Edna Dean Proctor, both well known in literary circles; Charles E. Burleigh, the abolitionist and temperance advocate; and his brother, William H. Burleigh, the poet. The new academy was dedicated, Thursday, August 21, 1873. The building is stated to have cost \$22,500. When ready to receive its fixtures and furniture, the funds raised for completing the building, \$15,372, had more than been expended; and, after consultation in the board of trustees for devising means, under some despondency as to securing the necessary funds to carry out the design, to compare with the fine and well-adapted building, then in

order to receive the internal preparation, suitable for opening the school favorably,—when Henry C. Bowen, Esq., who it appears has at all times led in this affair, as well as others in this his native town, generously proposed to take upon himself the expense of fitting and furnishing the building, in every way to compare with the structure itself and its pleasant surroundings.

This furnishing consists of desks, seats, and settees of modern style; a valuable clock and piano; at a total cost of between four and five thousand dollars.

After the conclusion of the addresses, on the occasion of the dedication, Henry C. Bowen arose and made some spirited remarks, stating that the financial affairs showed a considerable debt, and appealed to their generosity to add to their past contributions, and thus relieve the same of any incumbrance.

The result was a very liberal contribution on the spot, as follows :

W. D. Carroll, \$10; Joseph McClellan, \$50; John Paine, \$10; George A. Penniman, \$10; Mrs. P. Skinner, \$2; A. A. Carroll, \$10; W. P. Snow, \$10; E. M. Armes, \$5; Asa Lyman, \$20; Clara A. Armes, \$5; A. B. Cooley, \$5; Henry E. Bowen, \$50; Harrison Johnson, \$20; S. B. Collins, \$500; A. B. Dyke, \$100; J. F. Russell, \$10; A. C. Andrews, \$10; George Spalding, \$10; James Collins, \$10; P. N. Boutelle, \$10; Minnie Palmer, \$5; Frances M. Lyman, \$10; Sarah T. Lyman, \$25; D. T. Lyman, \$50; Lewis Williams, \$50; Lucius Fitts, \$25; Jane C. Weaver, \$5; cash, \$8.32; Mrs. C. P. Briggs, \$50; R. T. Town, \$30; John O. Fox, \$150; Hiram Dewing, \$100; D. Blackmar, \$20; James Gordon, \$10.

These several subscriptions amounted to \$1,420. The previous subscriptions were in all \$15,372, making the total building fund to this date, \$16,792. Showing still a debt of about \$1,500. Considering, however, the large sums raised for the permanent fund, construction account, and furnishing—about \$38,000, this balance is but a small item. The whole is a

grand result of the liberal efforts of the people of this town, and a good example for the community around them.

The present instructors are

Mr. William E. Davidson, A. B., principal; Miss Elizabeth R. Beach, assistant-principal; Miss M. Jennie Atwood, second assistant-principal; Miss Mary E. Langdon, teacher of instrumental music; Mr. J. Astor Broad, teacher of vocal music.

In a letter from Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, read on this occasion, he gave an account of a school kept here by Thaddeus Mason, Esq., found among the papers of his father. It commenced, November 10, 1729, and continued to April 1, 1730. The names of his scholars were as follows:

John Chandler, Gardiner Chandler, Mary Chandler, Esther Chandler, Moses Lyon, Nehemiah Lyon, Joshua May, Caleb May, Stephen May, Thomas May, Benjamin Sanger, John Sanger, David Holmes, Josiah Holmes, Caleb Johnson, Peter Johnson, Nathaniel Payson, Asa Payson, Joseph Bartholomew, John Bartholomew, Samuel Bartholomew, Jedediah Bartholomew, Daniel Abbot, Joseph Abbot, Nehemiah Bugbee, Zeruiah Bugbee, Eleanor Bugbee, Joseph Barnard, Samuel Barnard, Ebenezer Barnard, Abner Barnard, Edward Morris, Isaac Morris, Grace Morris, Bethiah Morris, Joshua Tucker, Benjamin Tucker, Joseph Wilson, Jacob Wilson, Manasses Hosmer, Uriah Hosmer, Joseph Hosmer, Nathaniel Child, Henry Child, Benjamin Child, Jesse Carpenter, Benjamin Carpenter, Joseph Carpenter, Daniel Marscroft, Jacob Marscroft, Darius Sessions, Josiah Cummings, Daniel Davis, Ebenezer Smith, Nathaniel Henry, James Levens, Silas Bowen, Oliver Barrett, Peter Morse, Nathaniel Ainsworth, Isaac Hemenway, Benjamin Thayer, Samuel Lillie, Isaiah Tiffany, Ebenezer Phillips, Eunice Draper, and Nathaniel Sanger.

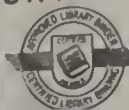
In the list in manuscript, was written opposite the name of David Holmes, "My Honored Father," by Dr. Abial Holmes, father of O. W. Holmes.

R D 28.8.



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